

JPRS-EER-88-093  
1 NOVEMBER 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

### ***Glasnost in Bulgaria***

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Distribution Unlimited

**19990324 099**

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SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

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# East Europe

## Glasnost in Bulgaria

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**Reappraising Our Historical Experiences**  
*22000063 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian*  
8 Oct 87 pp 2-4

[Article by Toncho Zhechev: "Reflections"]

[Excerpts] Recently, and more and more persistently, the calls for revolutionary thinking, for resolute actions, for transformations, and restructuring are being heard. Most often they come down from "above" and each of us can testify to the difficulties with which they proceed from "below," the kind of unbelievable inertia they meet in public life, how few of them are transformed into deeds. At first glance, it is almost inexplicable how so many bold and disturbing documents from the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee can leave anyone in our country indifferent. In those documents we are told frankly that the situation is alarming and cannot continue this way, that the fate of socialism and the creative achievements of entire generations are at stake.

The explanation for this discrepancy between calls to action and this inertia is simple; it can be discerned by the naked eye; there is scarcely any particular merit in pointing it out. Since low-level propaganda, mass media, literature, and so forth have for so long and so pompously portrayed our movement during the past four decades as possessing a triumphant attractiveness, leaping from one achievement to another, we cannot comprehend what revolution, what sort of revolutionary transformations, or what restructuring can be necessary. This context deprives our new, earnest, revolutionary impulse of a stimulus to mobilize efforts, of a sharpness in appraising the new situation. This also begs the question of everyone's guilt for mistakes committed and for superficially considering projects and solutions that proved not to be far-sighted and that need everyone's revolutionary energy to rectify.

I think that the timely and disturbing formulation of the country's leadership concerning revolutionary transformations will encounter resistance when we begin little by little, thoughtfully, seriously, without pessimism or nihilism, but also without self-deception and megalomania, to examine the real condition of various aspects of social and cultural life, what has been achieved and what has not been achieved, what has been done wrong, and who is responsible for it; when we muster our courage and tell ourselves what a price we have paid for so many sectarian and dogmatic illusions and utopian ideas. In general, when we examine the realities of today's national and social life without blinders, seriously and clearly, without prejudice, we should be prepared not only critically, but also self-critically to assess the historical experience of socialism from its victory, through the 20th Congress and the April Plenum, in the light of international and our own unique experience from the end of the 1960's to today. Only such a responsible and free discussion of the problems in each sphere, the general and personal appraisal of the accomplished and

unaccomplished in each sphere can revive the revolutionary energy and creative forces of the people to advance the society toward the resolution of overdue and urgent problems. Then we will see clearly all those "million problems" and "million torments" (to quote the famous play) that we face once again.

It would be naive for us to ignore the risks concealed behind a free and impartial discussion of all urgent problems, especially since it is an open secret that a number of them have been taboo until now. But this risk is worthwhile, since implementing the July Program of the Party would otherwise be impossible. The denial of this risk would mean risking something more important—the fate of socialism and its future in our country. In this connection, we need to grant the fact that our society has attained a certain level of maturity after decades of our talking about mature socialism, and the fact that our intelligentsia already has a certain historical experience and will surely find the right tone and measure both in formulating and in dealing with mature discussion subjects. I once wrote, and I remember it well, an apologia about the Bulgarian's sense for moderation, and now I can disclose that in this instance I was more faithful to my dream than anything else; I wanted to stimulate a cultural utopia with the praiseworthy idea of encouraging something rare and beautiful. Moreover, the notion of that utopia originated in Beijing, frozen with winter and political frost at the end of the Cultural Revolution, in the heyday of extremism everywhere in the world, extremism and illusions from which that same China liberated itself and has advanced even further before our eyes during subsequent years.

I mean to say that the discussions which lie ahead can evade our characteristic far-left or far-right vacillation from simple common sense, so that in them we will succeed in giving an accounting of what we have done, how we have done it, how valuable it is, what lies ahead for us, and the direction we must take. If someone, somewhere, believes that all of these problems have been resolved, that for us they are "plucked hens" as Pencho Slaveykov liked to say, then that someone cannot attract thousands and millions of people to creativity. At least one thing has become clear during these years: no one has ready-made solutions to the creative problems of life.

[passage omitted]

In other words, the restoration of the moral and psychological climate in which people live and toil is especially important now. Work that way will derive from the other direction, from the concern of people, from the human factor, from an awareness of everyday life, with leaders and social figures exemplifying effective and good-quality work everywhere and in everything. Whoever is incapable of that should move aside and give way to the people who are able to strive for and achieve goals.

The restoration of the moral and psychological climate, the raising of the level of consciousness—these are not simply questions of cleaning, of purifying, or of washing in the public baths. When a note appeared in the Soviet press to the effect that “Purification” would be a better title for Tengiz Abuladze’s famous film than “Repentance,” one critic very sensibly and thoughtfully objected on a Soviet television program. The concepts are on different levels and represent substantially different processes. “Purification” is primarily associated with a sweeping away, a cleansing, shaking away the filth, after which there is no obstacle to accumulating new mistakes; “repentance” does not have such a superficial, cleansing aspect. It is a moral process; above all, it affects the conscience, generating a sense of guilt and is thus inescapably connected with the possibility of spiritual rebirth in the individual and in society. Just such a “repentance,” unencumbered by a display of panicky pathos, but accompanied by profound and serious self-examination is as necessary now as air, not one cold shower after another.

The symptoms of such a “repentance”—from which ultimately, I am convinced, an improvement will gradually follow, extending even to the quality of bread, water, land, and services—have not yet been noted even though there are good reasons for such symptoms. The 100th birthday of Traycho Kostov recently occurred. It was possible to see how cautiously and meticulously the articles, reminiscences, and speeches sidestepped one of the darkest episodes of the cult of the personality in our country; how they ignored or casually mentioned the tragic later years of the life of this remarkable revolutionary, before whose fate the ancient tragedies pale: to be killed by his own comrades, not accidentally but through a “court” and a “trial!” Some even called his death “absurd,” as though a roof tile had fallen on his head. In whose interest is it to skirt around the crimes of the personality cult? Without probing deeply into the wounds of our own development, we cannot restore an atmosphere which could then bring us to the indispensable improvement in the quality of material goods. Perhaps I am tedious, but I continue to insist on this.

I do not forget, however, how complex and tragic are the interwoven knots that we fear to untie or to cut. For example, though I refer to Traycho Kostov and his tragedy, I would not want to turn him into a cult, even though he had become an icon before which I crossed myself in my youth, because we would lose our ability to conduct a sober appraisal of his work and ideas during various periods. For a long time, I have delved into and preoccupied myself with the so-called “steerage history” of our left-wing proletariat front during the 1930s. And I cannot understand why, for more than half a century, this question has not been examined objectively. But now, more than at any other time, it is clear that a leading group in the Party at that time, in which Traycho Kostov played far from an insignificant role, had taken the side of a second literary group among leftist and Party writers, which had expressed the most primitive

views about literature and art: it regarded the interrelationship between ideology and artistic quality in a completely mechanical and narrow-minded fashion. Who except representatives of the “grey torrent” of contemporary sectarians, of the “anti-quality people” and esthetic dinosaurs requires the suppression of the truth about this history? Such people will try to turn the always-correct Party leadership, even when wrong, into myth and legend. “We do not need every truth,” I hear saying behind my back a stern voice, which in our country always presents itself as a voice of the class-Party method. We have seen just how far we can get with half-truths. Only the whole truth is necessary, sacred truth. It can be interpreted from various positions, but first of all, it must be complete and unimpaired.

[passage omitted]

The bureaucracy, armed with powerful modern media, creates superficial instead of vivid reality. I advise you to live for a while sometime (not as a privileged guest, but as an ordinary person) in the villages and small towns of the colorful Rose valley, from the village of Rosino to Kotel. Even a person with the worst intentions could not deny the advancement in general well-being and in social development during the past decades. But even the most well-intentioned observer cannot miss noticing what formidable new problems have come from this progress, and how the local bureaucracy—intent on self-preservation—either covers them up assiduously or simply feels completely powerless to solve them. A decorous facade seeming to embody order, a functioning social system, quiet, and calm conceals a raging universe of acts of small and large arbitrariness, torpidity, out-of-the-ordinary arrangements, the absence of shared values, and Babylonian discord, while the quality of services is worthy of a primeval society. You cannot help but be depressed by the queues for our daily bread, the stores devoid of goods or closed because of goods being delivered, neglected and decaying public facilities, absurd commerce for the benefit of retail clerks, thefts on a large and small scale, relationships based on the absolutely useless and unproductive principle of “I’ll scratch your back if you’ll scratch mine,” etc. And obvious symptoms of a physical, not to speak of spiritual degradation, which is probably not without the assistance of home-made and other inferior brandies, a catastrophic decline in the general level of the Bulgarian population’s innate intelligence and friendliness. You see in the schoolyards healthy, buoyant, sensible children, and wonder how and why only a few years later they have turned into such slovenly, ignorant, sullen, and spiritless mothers and fathers. You feel that the same foundation, the same font continues to produce and shove out turbid waves of vulgarity and ignorance to roll over us. How? Who created all of this? I confess that I am unable to answer. This I do know—it cannot be one only from “above.” With all the means which contemporary society has at its disposal, it must somehow awaken the energy and forces for good which slumber among the people; here the



unselfish and crusading work of the entire intelligentsia in society must first of all sharply and steadfastly tear apart the veil of sham prosperity, created in the interest of the bureaucracy.

**LITERATURE FRONT's Chief Editor on  
Intellectuals' Role**

22000061 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
15 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by Evtim Evtimov: "Air for Glasnost—Literature and Restructuring"]

[Text] One should give credence to the alarm of talent.

If there is talent, it goes without saying.

Before I commit these reflections to paper, I already hear Efren Karanfilov's original thought: it's easier to shed others' blood than one's own. I have no such purpose, but nevertheless if drops of blood fall, even through the fault of others, these will be drops from my conscience because I am in pain. And if I am harsher towards certain alarming occurrences, let the reader not think that I am passing the buck to somebody else, for the buck stops in my consciousness and every loss is my loss too. It is high time now to pay more attention to the writer's conscience, to public-spirited awareness of responsibility to man, for man is everything. Why do we write if he does not exist on earth? What are the hundreds of books for if they fail to stir him up and fall short of his aspirations? Nor must we stress any longer how many books there are per capita, but rather how many have become part of his heart. This, not the bureaucratic criterion, must be fundamental. Every creative artist must have clothing of his own, not clothing tailored to somebody else's measure; every creative artist must wear the crown of thorns of dignity, not the time-server's crown. Pocket books will still be written and published, but there must be no writers carried comfortably in somebody's pocket.

The decisions of the July Plenum have occasioned such thoughts in me. Efforts are now being exerted to break away from the cliché, a new path of progress is being sought and it is no accident that the question of the restructuring of consciousness is being raised. But in order to set forth upon his path, previous barriers must be gotten rid of, a number of pseudotruths and half-truths must be removed and hidden rocks cleared away; otherwise we will stumble over yesterday's failings. What frightens me particularly is the window-dressing which always has the advantage, is hard to root out and is always expedient. And that is why if something is new, I should like it to be entirely new, not prettified for the people and for the moment. It should not resemble an old cart with some new parts put on, but the whole thing remaining the same as it was before.

For this, to be sure, first and foremost talent is needed, not just high pay and social status. Talent is called upon

to champion new thought; it is always in conflict with dogmas and sometimes second-rate "eminences" may even punish it; in the end its truth emerged unblemished in the eyes of the world. The talented writer, as a rule, must have a flair for new thought, for new discoveries, for being in the vanguard of political and social thought, providing an example mainly through his creative work. The time is past when you could write about anything, create fireman's poetry or the like, for example, for prefabricated tombs, which in most cases are monuments to lack of talent. The main thing now is that talent should be actuated by the individual and this individual's life alone. If we permit it to be created only in an atmosphere of prefabrication, there is no doubt that we shall begin to talk about the prefabricated man created by the 20th century, just as we now talk about a snow man.

To begin with, talent means morals as a writer and as a human being. You cannot have two faces, one for show and one for yourself, and imagine that now you have erected your monument. From history we know that even good authors have sometimes destroyed their reputation during their lifetime because it was built on a swampy foundation. We might recall Hamsun who, after his adherence to Hitler's ideas, with his own hand flung mud on his creative work. I still see that international train, loaded with books translated into all languages, being returned to the author because he had betrayed, not the situational truth, but world truth. I begin to reflect on this fact and to worry that quite a few books that have betrayed the times will be returned to the authors and this will be a more onerous judgment of them than that of literary criticism.

I feel this train and am doing my best to forestall it, but I do not know whether the clacking of its merciless rails is no longer to be heard. Let us think a little about this and about the sad but honest words of the poet when he said that somebody is already clattering on our roofs and burying us with the truths of the New. Or something more frightening still—are we obsolete before we have grown up?

I should very much like to refute all this; I very much wish that Heine's words were not true—that poetry was the hungriest art in the world because in times past he could not buy even a morsel of bread with it. Or if there is hunger, let it be hunger for talented poetry, for worthwhile literature, not for insipid cocktails of hack-work that sometimes find station and blessings of invidious prosperity, of savings passbooks, which save many discomforts, but never the dire truth of pristine values.

The mediocrities proved much more pliant, very opportunistic and always ready to change their skin, but remained essentially the same. On the one hand were opportunities endured to do something new at the price of much distress and hardship, on the other were the mediocrities, always declaring they were for new

thought, for telling the whole truth about a number of disturbing questions and for all that always holding back the progress of literature and society. Wasn't it they who, for nothing, gained reputation, position and livelihood, exerted diabolical efforts to obstruct the progress of the more talented writer, flung mud in the latter's literary dinner plate because they saw it as larger and fuller than their own, and spread slanders against him? Were they not always saying in a loud voice that they were not appreciated at their true worth, that others were published and republished in large press runs, while their creative works looked like poor relations? What should be done—like author, like publication, even though Khristo Botev once published half a book on newsprint, yet never gave a second thought to the covering of this first offspring, but thought first and foremost about the verses he had written and whether they would touch the soul of the people?

For the militant mediocrities it is more important to cut an appearance, to oust the great and install themselves in its place, and to exhort. Nothing else interests them.

What effrontery, fed by bureaucratic aspirations!

How many moss-grown intellects, freed of burden or insured by public authority, have repeatedly imposed the existence of small-scale truth and gradually it has displaced or at least overshadowed the great truth of our times? Has a moral, if not a financial, accounting for this been sought? How many Bulgarian writers, at the risk of having trouble, have found the strength within themselves to tell the truth, no matter what it is and however dire it may be? How many publications have thrown their pages open more widely and have greeted with the necessary respect a creative position such as this? Our writer and political journalist has seemingly learned to keep quiet and wait rather than let his angry, but honest and timely spoken word be heard. For many this is seemingly a comfortable position that will not upset their creative tranquility. And the antonym of creativity is unrest, is it not? But surely for centuries creativity has had a still more accurate definition—the vigilant conscience of the times!

And that is why sometimes I am saddened that the bellicose mediocrities are the first to respond to everything new; they are the first to swear fidelity to it and, it goes without saying, later on are the first to be unfaithful to it. While we—myself included—say not a word and fail to understand that time will never forgive us for this benignness...or apathy of ours. Instead of our doing the approving or criticizing, they criticize and instruct us. They do their best to awe us, they ascribe to us their transgressions, and for fear lest we breach unity, we continue to grant them alms—whether material reward, position, or appreciation. And they begin to live better than we ourselves do.

Why?

I cannot answer myself....

And I feel that they are thus encouraged to become still more aggressive and to replace lofty values of the spirit with dubious substitutes.

If the weapon of women is tears, as an ancient philosopher has said, the weapon of the political journalist is his conscience. And since political journalism is closest to real life, to the truth, it seems to me that it can answer many problems of restructuring more accurately and more truthfully. The documentary contributions of world political journalism confirm this judgment. The reporting of Julius Fuchik and Il'ya Erenburg remind us of this. I support this viewpoint because the difference between strong political journalism and belles-lettres is not as great as some behind-the-times esthetes try to persuade us. It is no accident that before there were unions of writers and journalists, the first union of creative artists was called Union of Writers and Political Journalists. Later, when they were divided into separate creative sections, again there was something in common between them, for they were united by one and the same responsibility. There is considerable progress now in this direction, but there is a certain boundary between them, which emphasizes that what they have in common is a no-man's land. This frightens me. No-man's land means it is neither our's nor another's, and it is known that unoccupied and undefended positions are occupied by questionable ideas. This should make us especially anxious to think; there must be no-man's land between writer and political journalist. Quite a few people, such as talented political journalists, have found a merited position in literature; quite a few writers working on newspapers have shown how up-to-date political journalism can be created. Most likely this does not depend solely on the social position of the author and whether or not he has a seat in the National Assembly, but first and foremost on whether there is a national awareness. Sometimes over a cup of coffee or a glass of good cheer in the writers' coffee house, many pointed and honest suggestions are made, but when it is suggested that they be given wide publicity, many prefer not to be published. The chief editor of the Soviet newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA recently told me about such a case. A well-known Soviet writer expressed his views at a plenum very pointedly about certain articles in the newspaper and on urgent problems of the present day, but when he realized that his statement would be printed and millions of readers would find out about it, he went to the editorial office and asked not to be published. I wonder whether there are not similar cases among us. We voice or deny one thing at the table, but at a meeting we say not a word about our opinion or once more use mediocrities to express our opinion or vulgarize it.

Why do certain people sometimes have two opinions—one, in harmony with the official opinion, and another for insurance? This, to me, very much resembles the fate of a former literary critic who came to our newspaper and said to the head of the criticism department, "In one

pocket I am carrying a favorable review of writer X's book; in the other, an unfavorable review. Which is suitable for printing?" Now I think that such people are carrying in their pockets, first and foremost, their own obituary notices of their premature literary death....

And since the question at issue is meritorious political journalism by a writer, I want to reminisce about my Siberian friend Valentin Rasputin. I will not argue that he is one of the great names in world literature or, what is more, an example of a world writer's conscience. Years ago he waged a fierce battle to save Baykal. From him personally I heard that he had received many threats that something bad would happen to him if he continued to raise this question.

But the writer did not take fright. After a time, or now under conditions of perestroika in the Soviet Union, his truth triumphed and, thanks to his honest efforts, Lake Baykal has been saved from unwisely built polluting plants. Sergey Zaligin, Viktor Astafiev and many other authors added their voices to his. Many Soviet writers during the period of stagnation categorically declared that the reverse flow of the rivers was not a triumph, but a defeat. In support of this thought, recently the First Secretary of the Soviet Writers Vladimir Karpov told me that a number of eminent authors are continuing this cause and are finding complete understanding from the people and the new Soviet leadership.

Baykal now breathes normally as it did in the past, and the black of irrationality is slowly disappearing. The lake has been saved, truth has been saved, and this is due to the apostolic efforts of a few eminent authors. That is why I want to ask myself—and then many others: Where were we during this time, what were we doing about the violation of our own country's ecology? Despite some good statements, we did not give our decisive verdict, as it behooved writers to do. Kremikovtsi is already a fact. Pollution is above the permissible norms and in all probability the percentages will increase. That is why when we talk now about the necessity of a scientific and technical revolution and even create our own computers, I cannot quite believe in its power as long as it remains impossible to invent equipment to dispel the black smog over Sofia that kills not only us but something of the future as well. Slowly, but surely. And this is due perhaps not only to the pollution of nature, but much more to the pollution of the social ecology, thanks to some rash acts of thoughtlessness.

The Zlatna [Golden] Panega long ago lost its gold despite the unsuccessful safety filters. The Iskur, Struma, Maritsa and Mesa are only a memory of something that used to be. The Devnya, extolled in many poetic allocations, is slowly poisoning the Verna shore and, like a chain, begins to weigh heavily upon our own necks. Is the case not similar likewise to that of the ill-starred yeast plant in Razlog that poisoned this region's beautiful basin?

There are already some warning signs that if we treat nature so carelessly, something irreparable may happen.

Let us hope that after the recent meeting at the highest level in our country the sky over Ruse—one of the pearls of the Danube—will clear up. For I have heard no more damning appeals than these, namely, that people want air for their children, that the leaves of many trees of this enchanting city have been riddled by chlorine invasions from the opposite bank. But once more let me ask: Why until recently did the cloud of an inexorable taboo hang over this ecological problem? Why did our press prefer to remain silent solely in the name of sincere friendship, not in the name of life?

In the past month alone the accumulation of chlorine vapor over Ruse was 10 times over the permissible limit and the bluish veil compelled people to move about with handkerchiefs on their faces. Many of them came out to the central square with appeals. "Give us clean air!", "No to chlorine!", "We want a healthy younger generation," but not a single pen of a writer or political journalist was to be found to support this truth. Why? Five years of negotiations alone, five years of complete silence about the Ruse syndrome, five years of bearing deformed children precisely now when our birth rate is declining. I am beginning to regret that we have not produced a Rasputin or a Zaligin. Would only that a clear Danube sky return once more over Ruse. Such a chlorine disaster must not arise between it and Giurgiu, the main path of Levski and Botev. Even despite the hope, I have recently felt once more like crying out, "Mercy for Ruse! Mercy for the air! Mercy for the future!"

For I am saddened when I recollect that a while back eminent writers rightly made an appeal in the press to save pet dogs, but for the poisoned city and the people threatened with poisoning—once more silence.

Why? How much longer?

Let me add at once that years ago a similar plant was built on the Danube opposite Yugoslav territory and it was the press of this country that did everything possible to have the source of pollution disassembled and transferred to another location. I was not involved in much of the writing in this press, but it proved its power in the event.

One question naturally leads to another. A while ago I personally halted the publication of two alarmist articles of Yordan Radichkov and Blaga Dimitrova, in which the latter expressed their distress that Sofia was being torn up in unplanned fashion and two of the most beautiful boulevards were being mutilated. The writers were angry but honest and wanted to help, not vilify, but the inexorable directives of the then capital-city authorities were such that nothing could be said and centuries-old trees were chopped down in the middle of the night. Shortly after this Georgi Atanasov, who headed up the high oversight commission, disclosed not only these facts, but even grimmer ones as well, and appropriate decisions were made. Why was it necessary to resort to

them, why was it necessary to wait for an opinion from above when writers and political journalists had warned about this beforehand? If their opinions had been published, in all probability other violations would have been averted. For whom was this taboo necessary? Most likely the answer lies buried at the bottom of somebody's bureaucratic files—the somebody the July Party Plenum was talking about.

Restructuring presupposes complete democracy and glasnost while glasnost itself needs more clarity. Otherwise we are going to continue to move in a vicious circle of convictions, rather than action. Let us hope that the full verbatim reports of the April (1956) Party Plenum will be published, too. This plenum was a model of restructuring, of new political thought, of creative liberation of the serfs and disavowal of the cult period, which waged especially severe programs against creative people. True, Vulko Chervenkov in the 1960's did meet with writers, but many still recall that what he did was to exhort and impose his viewpoint on the problems in literature as the only correct one brooking no objections, rather than to conduct a creative dialogue with engineers of the human soul, as writers were then called. It was under pressure from none other than him that Aleksandur Zhendov, Nikola Lankov and many other cultural figures suffered then. Why should we forget what outrages were inflicted on the creative work of many talented authors, Nikola Furandzhiev, Elisaveta Bagryana, and Pavel Vezhikov, and later they had to disclaim these works because they saw they had drifted so far away from their own creed. Many of those who suffered during that period are still alive; we are contemporaries of it too and, thank God, we have not forgotten or forgiven the memory. We now take delight in the anticultist works in the land of Lenin, but unfortunately our works in this vein can be counted on one's fingers. Our literature has not yet uttered a hard word about the cult of the personality in Bulgaria. It seems to me that here, precisely, nobody is preventing us.

Some writers have already written that something more concrete must be said about Traycho Kostov's trials; the records of the investigation should be given publicity. I am not for paying off old scores or for any kind of belated reprisal, but I am convinced that the whole truth must be told. This, in turn, will heighten still more the value of the April Plenum that rehabilitated those who suffered guiltlessly and opened a new page in the history of our society. This publicity will be of historic significance for future generations.

The question of the 1942 trial of Anton Ivanov and his comrades also arises. What is this long-standing secrecy? Were they not people like us, characterized by everything human? Were they not vulnerable? Perhaps thus we shall see them more in relief, more human, rather than presenting them to future generations as solely stone monuments. Who has been afraid of this trial for so many years that he will not permit all the documents to be published? I experienced this kind of feeling when I

wrote my documentary novel devoted to Anton Popov. Although I had written authorization from responsible quarters, I was allowed only two or three crumbs from the archives. It is likewise a public secret that many pages of this case No 585/1942 have disappeared or been stolen by some unscrupulous or personally interested persons. I had a more noble aim—writing a book about the hero and his comrades, but again came up against some taboo which prevailed at least at a time when there was talk of glasnost and democracy.

Sotto-voce glasnost has come to an end or should if it hasn't. Both good and evil should be public knowledge. Sometimes for a sales clerk we are zealous to tell precisely the details of what he's convicted of, what funds he has misappropriated, but when it's a question of corruption at a higher level, reports are written like a news brief. From them you grasp that the sentences passed are fair, but you sense that something is covered up. Then suspicions spring up as well....

The writer springs from the people, he belongs to these people and must be faithful solely to the people's morality. A fruitful dialogue is now under way about abolishing unclear and chemical weapons, the chief threat of the planet's destruction, but the problem of pollution likewise knocks at their door with equal force. It is not solely ecological, nor yet political, but above all common to all mankind, for it is a question of the fate of mankind, and why not also of its tomorrow?

Last year I visited the Petrochemical Plant near Burgas with a group of writers. One could hardly breathe there, but that was not the most dreadful thing. More dreadful was the fact that there was not the slightest trace of the once pure Lake Burgas. It has turned into a poisonous swamp and nothing can restore it to its former life. At lunch I saw one of the managers of this vital project and when I asked him about the alarming condition, he answered me in a calm voice, "What surprises you about the fact that the lake is almost nonexistent? Back when Petrokhim was planned, the lake was doomed to death, wasn't it? Why didn't you speak up then?"

At first this seemed to me to be indifference. How could one talk in such language about something longed for, but later on I had second thoughts and said to myself that this manager is most likely right. One must consider as early as the planning stage what the fate of the environment will be, for afterwards everything is irreversible. If something necessary for our industry or chemistry is built, it can be difficult to dismantle or relocate elsewhere. Perhaps this should be a first condition for preservation of the cleanness of the air and the saving of nature, which—nobody knows why, is called the surrounding environment. To the contrary, it is central, it is in the middle of our lives, and the center is there where life is, and not human lunacy. Most likely it is "surrounding" only for those who want to steer clear of anxiety about it. Ordinarily more findings are made about what has been done and shoulders are shrugged



helplessly, but very rarely are hands extended to save Bulgarian territory, which is not all that large as to permit us the luxury of devastating and poisoning it indiscriminately.

As far as is known, a reservoir for drinking water was recently built near Shumen, but when the time came to use its resources, precisely then it was discovered that the water was poisoned and unfit for drinking. I doubt whether it will be good for irrigation, either. The harm that has been done is done. Who will answer for it?

That is why we must avoid any as yet uncommitted errors of shortsightedness before they take place. For a long time, for example, the eyes of some have been turned towards the water of the Parangalitsa reserve; for a long time some specialists have sought a way of adding another black mark of stupidity. Recently suggestions are being hinted—here whispered in the ear, there in the open—that the waters of the Rilas and the Pirins above 1,000 meters elevation be captured, which means that if this is done one of the greatest purification centers of our fatherland will disappear. God grant that I will be given the lie, God grant that I am wrong, God grant that I will be accused of pessimism, only let it not be the truth. Otherwise, forgive us, holy Nature. We shall have to import air from another planet.

But there is something else as well: Even when a writer speaks his piece in time, rarely is any notice given. It still saddens me that Lyuben Petko's powerful article on the destruction of thousands of decares of land with chemical fertilizers near Burgas roused almost nobody to action while similar alarm signals were skipped over by many local obshtina governing bodies.

It is necessary, utterly necessary, that the scathing word of the writer, of the political journalist be heard, as Dimitur Naydenov once wrote. Otherwise pens may dry up from inactivity and lose their vigilant conscience.

I am convinced that restructuring does not mean destroying, but building, as has repeatedly been emphasized. Therefore I emphasize it too. But I am convinced that it must be rid of everything that has ossified and held back its progress. Only then will great truth be given the green light.

Therefore, in conclusion let me recall my initial thought that to have glasnost there must be clarity and honesty. It is not possible sometimes to raise a great uproar about trifling errors or to remain silent about fateful matters even though measures to terminate them have been taken. I cannot explain, for example, why the former incorrect decision was made to sell personal motor vehicles when it was known beforehand that this was unjustified and would deprive the state treasury of millions of additional leva and its rescission later would not be required.

A Black Sea Balkanturist manager did something similar years ago, obtaining a decree for the confiscation of all villas—state and private—for international tourism, but afterwards it turned out that most of them were not up to the necessary standard and were returned to their owners. Why is the beauty of the Etropole Balkans thus eroded and something that cannot be held in check seemingly running through it? Will not our posterity blame us for depriving them of many years of their unborn lives?

Questions, questions! And all of a sudden I am seized with fear that if we continue to destroy the poetry of our land, instead of "Land beloved, how beautiful thou art!," in time there will be a whisper, "Land beloved, how beautiful once thou was!" In like circumstances, the saying is that the strong man can always take a step backward. Lenin's wise motto is well known: Sometimes one takes a step backward in order to take two forward. But when you take two backward, but not a single one forward, or only one?....

These are collective errors, I dare say, and I am not to blame. But both I and you and we are responsible as authors and citizens that we were only silent witnesses and said not a word.

Most likely there was complete unanimity in approving them, but they were made precisely because collective responsibility was assumed, not specific responsibility. There was unanimity of ideas and there must always be, but when it is tantamount to apathy, I prefer the contrary, honest opinion to apathetic unanimity. Surely that does not contravene the truth, does it? Didn't Marx say that truth is born in debate, that there must be opposing opinions if we are to arrive at it? Why then do we call heretics those who have their say, solely because it does not coincide with mine or with yours?

Such things suggest much more about a gray stream in areas other than literature, but which we have talked about in this spirit for decades. Most likely somebody must clean the source of this stream and once more the pure water of long-suffering truth should begin to flow. One must not remain silent and always wait for a ready-made decision from somewhere else; it must be made by the author himself if he believes that his voice must be heard. Unfortunately, some still think that silence is golden, but the authentic goldsmiths of public opinion have long known that it is counterfeit and has neither moral nor monetary value. It can pass for precious metal only with incompetent and mediocre purchasers, but not with knowledgeable authorities. False glitter cannot deceive the talented and just consciences.

For one must not think solely of the honor of epaulets, but first and foremost of the honor of talent.



**Society's Poor Opinion of Professionals Criticized**  
22000056 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in  
Bulgarian30 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by Ivan Evtimov: "It's Not Just Medicine That's Suffering;" Estimation and Underestimation of Intellectual Work]

[Text] Medicine in Bulgaria has been suffering for so long that it's difficult to say whether its diseases are a result of the environment in which we live or caused by errors in its own development. Although its condition has been deteriorating from year to year, although physicians and patients alike are whispering about it, officially, the patient record is clean and medicine is considered perfectly healthy. Thank God, we finally admitted that medicine is sick, and we shall concern ourselves with its treatment.

I am very afraid, however, that in the panic to save medicine we might begin treatment before we have confirmed the diagnosis, and we might give a drug that does not cure.

In the conditions of socialist society, the most vital steps were taken to fully express the human side of medicine. State clinics and hospitals, free medical care. This was a noble and courageous leap towards achieving social equality in the most important sphere to man—the sphere of public health. But the more the system of medical care expanded quantitatively and consolidated as an institution, the more quality fell (and continues to fall). The aspiration to establish in essence a communist form of medical care at a definite stage in the development of socialism led to a contradiction between the concept and the real economic opportunities of society. Was the socialist economy consolidated to such an extent as to create islands of communist attitudes? The waves of real-life problems quite often flood these islands, undermine their fragile foundations, alter their form and relief and change them beyond recognition. Thus, the organization created to serve the people is transformed into a uniquely self-centered administration; under the cover of a selfless idea, self-seeking intentions and motives are consolidated. Hence, we arrive at a rift in reality: presenting the desired situation for the actual, and concealing the actual situation.

Since the aim could not be achieved in reality, the possibility remained for it to be achieved in appearance. The bureaucracy of many spheres of our public life, putting real experience into the straight jacket of administrative decrees, and the merger of meaningful artistic activities with bureaucratic accounting (a merger that has led to the annihilation of the creative human approach not just in medicine), is due to a large extent to the confusion between reality and ideal.

Here, bureaucracy is aware of its mission. It feels called upon to substitute the apparent for the real. It is most ruthless towards creative individuals, those who instead

of faceless administration choose personal involvement, who are prepared to accept initiative and risk in the name of the cause. This is why the spheres of intellectual work—science, education, medicine, engineering, economics—suffer most from the crusade of the paragraph against every fresh thought and non-standard behavior. A particularly dangerous consequence of the merger of administrative work with meaningful work was the opportunity that was created for administrative power to disguise itself as professionally competent and the professional to be enticed with the entree of power. Many of the specialists, who wished to work and be measured not by the extent of conformity and administrative dealings but by the degree of professional competence, lost faith. Creative work provided no incentive.

I remember an article published in the municipal newspaper a few years ago, which castigated the director of a hospital who forbade his surgeons from going on an agricultural brigade. The author angrily reproached intellectuals who did not want to soil their hands with dirty agricultural work without stopping to consider what harm a brigade might inflict on the ability of those hands to perform complex surgery. In his blindness, the journalist, believing in a dubious thesis without thinking, was placing several kilograms of potatoes higher than human life.

Given their position in society and their attitude to the means of production, Bulgarian intellectuals have actually long since not differentiated themselves from the working class. They are also a salaried work force that receives a fixed salary for its work. The difference is in the quality of the intellectual work, which, as complex work, is much more productive. Carried away in the bureaucratic organization of intellectual work, we deviated from the principles of socialism, we destroyed the principle of payment according to work. When a physician or an engineer is paid just enough to make ends meet, that is far below the value of their work force. These specialists, totally sunk in everyday disorder, cannot reproduce their work at the required level.

Society cannot exist without the products of intellectual work, but the bureaucrat demands the impossible: submission and new ideas, discoveries and courageous proposals from executives who never reason. This is why the bureaucrat aspires to maintain social development such that the search for products of intellectual work is minimal. He holds to an extensive economy because it is possible without rationalizations and new introductions; he conceals figures concerning the health of the population to provide a false impression of the significance of the physician; he struggles tooth and nail for an unduly centralized administration because he believes that he can achieve everything along the path of administration, without the assistance of the social sciences, without research-based strategies of social government.

It is impossible to achieve rapid progress and intensive development in all social spheres if we do not liberate intellectual work, if we do not learn to use it and to pay

for it. Above all, in medicine as elsewhere, it is time to separate administrative management from meaningful intellectual work, to eliminate the specialist's dependence on the administrator while at the same time protecting him from the temptation of becoming an administrator. Separation of administrative work from specialist work means that we must create conditions for the specialist to grow in his job without it being necessary for him to take an administrative post. Control of meaningful activity and the competence of specialists should be the job of heads of sections, departments, divisions, chief physicians, deans, and so on, and also of collective agencies—artists' guilds and professional associations, scientific and other councils elected by secret vote for a fixed period.

The final critical condition is the application of the socialist principle of payment as regards specialists: payment according to work, according to the full and actual price of the work force. To date we have been poor owners. We bought expensive, highly productive machinery and left it to rot in the backyards of companies. In the same manner, we trained expensive, highly productive specialists and left them to rust, to lose their qualifications, in the backyard of society. It's time things changed.

Recently a series of magazine articles have appeared in which the condition of our medical care has been discussed and proposals made for change. That's fine, but it seems to me that the proposed changes are not serious. Their effect is more cosmetic. The freedom of patients to choose district physicians doesn't mean much since this remains within the framework of the clinics and does not concern specialists. Most important is the means of preserving the administrator's control over the physician, since we again have a quantitative criterium for his work—the number of patients examined. The private practice of pensioners is also of little use if these physicians are not backed up by a large medical institute with different specialists, laboratories and modern medical apparatus.

The argument as to whether medical care is free or not has long since lost any sense for the average citizen. In the first instance, he is deprived of the privileges in medical care that some groups in our society enjoy; in the second instance he is deprived of the money with which he could pay for better care. Let's not fool ourselves. The principle of free medical aid in Bulgaria bartered money for privileges and began to be transformed from a means of establishing social equality to its opposite. By our work we all participate in providing public funds through which medicine is financed. But given the centralized distribution of funds, some groups turn out to be favored. For some polyclinics, hospitals and sanatoria far more resources are set aside; for others, the resources are inadequate.

Since we are going to treat medicine, isn't it better to look for more radical ways, like those we apply to our economy? In keeping with the ideas of self-management,

shouldn't we give physicians the right to cooperate, by choosing the colleagues with whom they wish to work, by choosing their assistants, including the administrators? In this way, the advantage of a large institution will be retained, and the risk of bureaucracy will be reduced. Self-formed collectives may hire (or buy) buildings, rooms and apparatus from the state and be fully self-financed. These cooperatives may conclude agreements with self-managed companies and other organizations that could assist them financially as long as they were satisfied with the service, and that could break the agreements and turn to other cooperatives if they were dissatisfied. In all cases, however, we must honor the patient's right to be treated where he wants.

The formation of such physician associations presupposes: first, a guarantee of a series of reliefs for citizens who pay for medical services, such as assumption of part of the expenses of the company, professional associations, and so on, chiefly through additional pay on top of his salary, to the debit of the currently centrally distributed funds. (The proposal for free drugs appears attractive at first glance, but conceals several dangers. Chiefly, it runs contrary to the introduction of self-management and self-financing in the companies. Experience has taught us that centralized "payment" for drugs leads to a decrease in their production, to disinterest on the part of the trade organization in the import of drugs, to restrictions, bans, a "black market," privileged supplies for some, and so on.) In the second place, the presence of physician cooperatives demands further development of state medical institutions. Their functions in the new conditions will be as follows: control over all factors that influence human health, coordination and control in introducing universal measures to prevent epidemics, a struggle against infectious diseases, medical prophylaxis and education and also preservation of free medical care for those citizens who cannot take on the burden of paid medical care. In a small number of state institutions, conditions for patients and physicians' salaries must compete with those in physician cooperatives. Only in this manner will we preserve the principle of social justice. We must pay particular attention to scientific medical units, which should be financed both by the state and by physician cooperatives.

It could be argued whether these are the most suitable methods. What is important is that we understand that the diseases of medicine are not restricted to medicine but affect all intellectual activities in Bulgaria. Special treatment will not be successful if we do not eliminate other foyers of disease, if we do not cure the entire environment. Because the time has passed when good medicine was practised only by good physicians. Today the condition of medicine is a synthetic indicator for the condition of intellectual work in general in a given society.

**Overcoming Obstacles to Democratization**  
22000052 Sofia BULGARIAN ZHURNALIST  
in Bulgarian Nov 88 pp 21-24

[Article by Docent Nikolay Vasilev: "With a Civic Stance and Renovating Strength; Struggle Against Negative Phenomena and Glasnost"]

[Text] "Glasnost" and "Negative Phenomena." The former concept is relatively new (generally speaking, not in terms of practice but rather as an imperative of our time, with greater social significance); the latter is quite well known and used (but stays topical and, in my view, with not so many optimistic prospects for its conversion soon into a linguistic "atavism". Is linking those two terms, placing them within the same theoretical concept, seeking their organic interrelated grounds or reaching an awareness of some aspects of the dialectical link between them substantiated?

I believe that a positive answer hardly needs any special kind of argumentation. It is indicative, nonetheless, that it is only today that this question is being posed with the necessary urgency and that it is only today that the interconnection between glasnost and negative phenomena (or, more specifically, between glasnost and the struggle against negative phenomena in our socialist development) is showing with particular clarity both its efficient functionality and its social efficiency. Naturally, this is a fact which is neither accidental nor circumstantial in nature.

The struggle waged so far against negative phenomena turned out not to be all that successful (as it should have been on the basis of its built-in characteristics); instead of declining in number and assuming "more benign" quality parameters, they reached the stage of their official and meaningful variety and a certain portion of them developed into serious deviations from the socialist way of life, into social deformations with a negative economic and ideological effect.

The reasons for the insufficiently high "efficiency" are several. One of them, precisely, is the underdeveloped nature of glasnost so far, and its incomplete use as a powerful means of social influence. It is as though we excessively relied on the established network of excessively separated and extremely specialized law-enforcement and control authorities, councils and commissions. However, the respective units were not organically linked within an overall national system; the rights granted to each one of them were improperly split and limited; their social base had been narrowed; some negative phenomena found favorable grounds even within their own structure.

The most important result of all this was turning the struggle against negative phenomena into a matter of implementation of specific official obligations or official social commitments, into a question of the professional competence of a relatively limited number of people,

rather than a question of active civic stance and protection of the civic dignity of every member of our society. Yet the necessary social base and high efficiency in the struggle against negative phenomena can be ensured only through the full functioning of the glasnost mechanisms.

Actually, what is glasnost? I prefer the more descriptive and understandable explanation to the terminologically complex scientific (and, in frequent cases, pseudoscientific) definitions. To me glasnost means to voice (and not, as we have occasionally done, to think) that which should be said; to discuss out loud (in front of the public and not within a limited professional or administrative-hierarchical circle) problems of our social development; to wage and account for the struggle against negative phenomena out loud, and so on.

Later on I shall deal with most of the basic characteristics of glasnost (especially in terms of its link with the struggle against negative phenomena) and shall try to bring to light the renovating power of its inherent mechanisms. However, even so far, it is as though everything sounds very nicely, and even all too optimistically. Let me begin by sharing a question which has occupied my mind: Is it possible to achieve the necessary social efficiency of glasnost soon, and are the mass information media truly ready to assume in full their functions of specialized glasnost agencies? Personally, I am in no hurry to provide a categorical answer.

The reasons for this are numerous. Let me note no more than some of them. First, the process of broadening glasnost and democratization of social relations is, in principle, lengthy, conflicting and difficult. Second, the pace and features of its development are still not taking place naturally, on the basis of the necessary comprehensively shaped and definitely matured objective conditions and prerequisites but are somewhat, in some aspects, dictated "from above." Glasnost is still being "regulated," "allowed," "prohibited," "restricted," "broadened," etc. But is it possible for its full implementation to be ensured through administrative regulations and decrees? The third reason is directly related to my own bitter experience in clashing with the really existing practice in this respect (which I shall discuss shortly in greater detail).

One way or another, this process has been started, and its further outcome depends on all of us. This also determines the need for the theoretical study of social possibilities, characteristics and mechanisms of glasnost. I shall discuss here, if not all, at least the basic features of glasnost: freedom of information, democracy, a critical attitude, concreteness and substantiation.

Glasnost finds its proper expression above all in the free "production" and "consumption" of information; in terms of its profound essence it sharply clashes with information "monopoly" and the "caste" fragmentation and "hierarchical" distribution of information, the existence of social strata and groups which are privileged in

terms of information support, information "manipulations" which serve exclusively the interests of these strata and groups, etc. Information is intrinsically a particularly powerful resource; the right to information and to its distribution gives real power to the administrative authorities and shapes the secret and fierce "superintellectual halo" around the heads of their most authoritative members.

However such selective distribution of information—in terms of volume and content—among the various administrative-hierarchical "levels" in the social mechanism, which was (perhaps!) justified during a certain period of time, is no longer consistent with present-day realities. It hinders or even makes impossible the enhancement of the creative energy of the masses, which is so greatly necessary under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, their involvement with radical renovation processes and the full-capacity functioning of the corresponding units in social self-management.

Every citizen of the socialist society must have access to all (with the exception of the truly secret) information: economic, foreign and domestic political, and judicial-statistical. Hence the need to eliminate the existing "taboos" applicable to various areas of social life.

This fundamental feature of glasnost has yet another aspect: the open formulation, discussion and resolution of all of our problems, contradictions and conflicts. This problem, especially in relation to the need for a public discussion of internal party problems, was considered by Engels himself (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *"Such,"* [Works] vol 29, p 491; vol 32, p 565; vol 33, p 216; vol 34, pp 12, 323, 329-330; vol 35, p 296; vol 37, pp 287, 374; vol 38, pp 30, 32, 38, 76-77, 99, 34, 426, 431, 432; and vol 39, p 265). In his view, fears that such an openness would weaken the party or provide a strong weapon in the hands of its enemies are groundless. On the contrary, this strengthens its ranks, purges them from "nonproletarian elements," and ensures the party's successful development. It is precisely the free action of the mechanisms of openness and freedom of open criticism and self-criticism "that constitutes the restoration of true harmony within the party instead of bypassing and ignoring any truly arguable question within it" (Ibid., vol 39, p 265).

Conflicts and contradictions quite naturally ripen and develop within each area of social life. However, the "shy" ignoring and concealment of such conflicts and contradictions from the public is not (this we are sure of!) a favorable alternative to their open formulation and resolution. No single real conflict has been surmounted so far by making it secret. I believe that in science, for example, the balance between open and hidden conflicts has been seriously disturbed.

The disturbance of this balance is the reason (or perhaps one of the reasons) for the existence of a paradox. On the surface, officially, the situation may be truly calm and I would even say suspiciously calm, much calmer than it should exist in a lively, active, creative and arguing scientific community. Such calm is due to the artificial (administrative-managerial) suppression of criticism, the jesuitic smoothing over of each ripening conflict, the elimination (at its inception) of any symptom of a developing contradiction. Such "tranquility" is, naturally, nothing more than a social illusion.

That is what happens when the work of those who are in charge of a given sector on the scientific front or of the scientific front as a whole is assessed on the basis of the existence (low rating!) or absence (high rating!) of conflicts, arguments, discussions, and so on, in their respective area. This, however, is unnatural (and immoral!). Suppressed conflicts smolder and corrode from within the scientific community, deforming and demoralizing it; they constitute a permanent threat to a fictitious unity and offer favorable prerequisites for the dissemination of negative phenomena. In as much as the scientific system is the reduced copy of the social system, that which applies to the scientific community applies (unless I am mistaken) to all other communities. The struggle against the "swampy tranquility," against the distortion or concealment of the true situation and against the glossing over and suppression of sharp conflicts and contradictions means, actually, waging a struggle against negative phenomena.

A critical attitude is another basic feature of glasnost; as a rejection of apologetic lack of a critical attitude as well as the self-satisfied "absolute" fault-finding, it naturally stems from the freedom of information and is organically related to the remaining basic features of glasnost. It is as though its presence is self-evident (particularly when it is specifically a case of the struggle against negative phenomena). However, this must be expressly emphasized.

On the one hand, the open discussion of conflicts, difficulties and contradictions (or their "declassification") naturally gives priority to a critical interpretation of errors and shortcomings, omissions, deviations, negative phenomena and social deformations. It naturally demands a critical attitude as the heuristic "axle" of glasnost, as its system-forming component. In the final account, glasnost and a critical attitude are inseparably interconnected (see "Criticism and Glasnost." RABOT-NICHESKO DELO, No 114, 24 April 1987). On the other hand, however, "conjuring" the natural derivation of the first from the second would not help particularly in surmounting the powerful rosy-hued inertia of inherited self-boosting tradition.

Naturally, the open struggle against negative phenomena must be a struggle not against socialism but for more socialism, a struggle for its strengthening and improvement. However, surmounting the inertia we mentioned



also means surmounting the erroneous dogmatic view that it is only those who praise socialism in all possible manners, who shine its smooth surface, who exaggerate to the extreme its advantages and who idealize all of its specific forms and manifestations are fighters for socialism. The time has come to "gauge" as accurately as possible the ideological harm caused by the actually existing disparity between the realities of socialist life and the "picture" painted by the "valorous defenders" of socialism. M. Gorbachev recently said: "There is no reason to embellish our policy and our values: we act in full view of everyone" ("The Purpose of Glasnost Is to Strengthen Socialism." RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 196, 15 July 1987).

I must admit that the criticism of some weaknesses and errors committed in the course of our social development still conceal the danger of using once again the "weapon" of political insinuations. I remember that on one occasion I pointed out the inadmissible formalism in organizing and reporting the results of the national student political competition, the plagiarism which had spread among its participants, and the thoughtless laudatory reviews, given for tragically mediocre or comically cribbed papers (see "The Natural Reproduction of Plagiarism." FILOSOFSKA MISUL No 1, 1982). More than 1 year later, on a different occasion and as though incidentally, I was accused by a colleague of mine (in his presentation) that I had tried unjustifiably to compromise this important project of the Komsomol Central Committee. Allow me to quote my own answer on this occasion: "A serious and constructive criticism of some really existing shortcomings in the statute, organization and way of holding the national student political competition can be qualified as an attempt to compromise this vitally necessary ideological project only on the part of someone who is not entirely clear as to the nature and mechanisms of ideological work. It is not those who, with their honest and profound criticism try to help the elimination of shortcomings and errors hindering its further improvement who compromise the idea and fundamental ideological purposes of this competition, but precisely those who are concerned with their tranquillity, and who organize, implement, review, and so on, on a formal basis only, who consider it exclusively as an obligation of carrying out and reporting the completion of this project and, finally, those who oppose and distort the nature of the efforts to improve it."

The democratic nature of glasnost has many dimensions and it is impossible to dwell not only upon all of them but even most of them. In this case the connection is two-sided (as is any dialectical connection). Glasnost is both an instrument of democratization of society (mainly through the corresponding and inherent feature it contains) and a product of this democratization.

Particularly important in this case is the free access of anyone to information of interest to him and the right of anyone to criticize and to be criticized, to err and openly to assume responsibility for his errors. The democracy of

glasnost means the rejection of the "principle of limited validity" (see BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST No 2, 1987, p 37), a rejection of the principle according to which, if I may paraphrase the author of one of the most popular "anti-utopias," that all citizens of the socialist society are equal in the eyes of criticism (and the law) but some are more equal than other.

According to Engels "the labor movement is based on the sharpest possible criticism of existing society. Criticism is its vital element and how is it possible for this movement to avoid criticism...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 37, p 278). The specific subject here is the effort of some high party officials to impose a censorship on the party press, concealing behind the "screen" of "principled" considerations their unwillingness to be subjected to criticism and their painfully wounded super-arrogance, and imaginary conviction that they are demigods.

It was during their time that the two creators of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat decisively reacted to the syndrome of the "infallible chief" and "omnipotent bureaucrat" which was beginning to appear (see, for instance, K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 38, p 30); already then they had anticipated and exposed the real possibility that some party officials in high positions would imagine, as Marx cautioned, to "stand above criticism," and to begin, concealing themselves behind the screen of some kind of "superior principle-mindedness," of some kind of specific historical requirements or anything else, to "condemn criticism as a case of lese majeste!" (Ibid., vol 34, p 323). There neither could nor should there be ideas, institutions or individuals who stand above criticism. The only result of the existence of such a reality would be a parody of glasnost; instead of a real, open and consistent struggle against negative phenomena, an impressive theatrical show would take place on the "stage" of social life.

Let me add to this that the right of anyone to criticize and to be criticized could quite easily turn into a target of clever speculation, distortion and forgery unless it is properly combined with the right of anyone to answer criticism, to defend his viewpoint, opinion and stance. Naturally, both criticism and the answer to criticism, the assertion of a given concept and its dialectical rejection should be seriously substantiated, supported by facts and theoretically argued and presented with a necessary knowledge of the matter. They must be cleansed (to the extent to which it is possible!) from personal prejudices, nonscientific considerations and views, or pettiness.

In mentioning the next basic feature of glasnost, I cannot conceal my somewhat pessimistic conclusion (based on past practices) that some people understand it in a way that suits them; nor could I conceal my fears that in the future as well they will continue to consider it the way they would like to understand it. I cannot enumerate all



modifications in this respect but I feel obligated to deal with one of them (which, actually, is the most widespread), the so-called "quotation reinsurance."

In practical terms, it is a question not of substantiating (arguing) social criticism but of its political disarming with the help of "powerful" quotations (as a rule borrowed from the Marxist-Leninist classics or the latest party documents and resolutions and, exceptionally, from unquestionable scientific authorities or authors holding firm positions). I will not exclude myself from the tradition of cautious criticism by pointing out some of my presentation as the latest example which prove this rule.

True glasnost must be distant from such a "substantiation" (the result of which, usually, is a stereotyped, lengthy, boring trench warfare with "quotations," for a quotation is a rich field with the help of which one could "prove" anything!). I remember a public lecture delivered by Professor Kovalzon, a noted Soviet specialist in historical materialism, in which I was particularly impressed by his claim that "a quotation is not an argument; a quotation is an illustration!"

It is not necessary to back this claim fully; however, it is mandatory to realize the truth it contains. The theoretician, the journalist and the critic must prove that they are right not by quoting actual (or fictitious) authorities but through the power of their own arguments, the convincing nature of their own logic and the "proofs" provided by true social practice, properly reflected by them; they must cover the distance separating them from the truth they defend by walking on their own two feet and not relying on the "crutches" of skillfully selected quotations.

At the start of this article I raised questions concerning the time it would take to reach the necessary social efficiency of glasnost and the actual readiness of the mass information media to take up fully, as of now, as of the present historical moment, their functions of specialized instruments of glasnost. I also mentioned an argument directly related to my own experience in clashing with actual practices in this respect. Specifically, I am referring to the nonrecognition of words and the fear which exists of criticizing someone by name.

I follow closely the respective areas in the press and on the radio and television. It is an unquestionable fact that in recent years things have clearly changed for the better: the stereotypes of anonymous criticism are breaking down; names and facts have become public; some social deviations were named by their proper names, so to say. However, in my view a radical change in the situation could be noted only after we have made specific an entirely deployed and systematically implemented line, only after the definitive elimination of the "principle of limited validity," etc.

I could back doubts based on real journalistic practices in our country with at least some 20 illustrations, for I have had articles, surveys and reviews returned to me (precisely because of specifically named names) or else accepted in a curtailed and correspondingly emasculated way (I am sure that you could guess as to which parts had the "honor" of being deleted) by nearly all editorial boards of the central press and periodicals, including, actually, the editors of BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST. In connection with this topic, let me quote only one excerpt from an article which I submitted 3 years ago to the editors of the newspaper ORBITA for the section "Debatable Knots in Science," a debate which did not take place:

"Discussions which break out here and there on important problems of our social development, for example, suffer from a basic shortcoming: with few exceptions they are so abstract that their validity pertaining to anyone or anything makes senseless their validity about anything or anyone specifically. It is here that dry didacticism flourishes; grandiose prescriptions and standards are thundering; moralizing shines. Furthermore, in such discussions criticism has the sugary taste of lack of principles and caution; it is totally harmless (and, consequently, unnecessary!) because of its touching anonymity.

"I submit (realizing the futility of my suggestion) that editors of periodicals and newspapers should reject critical materials in which no single specific example and no single specific name is quoted. I am certain that the application of this rule would cleanse the ranks of the suspiciously numerous recent detachment of "fighters against injustice" and will make the true and serious struggle against a negative phenomenon if not more efficient at least less expensive (to say the least we would save a great deal of newsprint for the state!)."

I conclude my quotation at this point. I subsequently was foolish enough to go on giving specific examples, facts and names. I say foolish, for it was thus, most ignominiously, that my participation in the "unraveling" or "cutting through" the already mentioned "Discussion Knots," came to an end, before it had even started.

Unless we make specific the struggle against negative phenomena and unless we openly name those who carry them, and unless we create real conditions for the development of social criticism (including those who are silently protected from it), and unless we gauge within our own selves our weaknesses, errors and shortcomings on the basis of the objective criteria of strict and just self-criticism, we shall continue to wage this struggle only in words. We shall continue to be enraptured by the embellished dignity of our abstract-anonymous civic courage; we shall continue to face the same problems and to fall behind the pace of the global scientific and technical revolution.

Negative phenomena must be taken out of the shade of anonymity, secrecy and whispering in various corners, or palliative steps taken in secrecy, which favor them; the struggle against them must be waged openly, publicly, out loud, in front of and with the participation of the entire public. Let us not be taken aback by precise words. Let us say straightforwardly (after providing total proof): this one is a crook; that one is a thief; that one there is a corrupt person! The Bulgarian people would run a thief the length of an entire village, perfectly aware of the preventive power of glasnost. Today we are delicate, "shy," and "humane." That is probably why we have reached the paradoxical situation in which some thieves (the barman or the waiter, for example, or the tinsmith and the private vegetable grower, not to mention the thieves operating "wholesale!") no longer hide. They openly tell us that they are plundering us; they are no longer ashamed of piling up illegal income but are proud of stealing from us....

In this article I discussed some of the basic features of glasnost, features outside of which there could be no question of any kind of relatively efficient struggle against negative phenomena, social deviations and deformations, and without which, in the final account, we cannot speak of glasnost.

Actually, is it not the very lack or the functional underdevelopment of the basic features which are discussed here but a negative phenomenon which our present-day journalism must eliminate, so that the mass information media may become fully functional rostrums of the public dialogue, glasnost, democracy and the renovating struggle against negative phenomena?

05003

**Evaluating Socialist Ideals, Experiences**  
*22000058 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian*  
12 Nov 87 pp 1-2

[Article by Andrey Gulyashki: "Who Are We, Where Are We, and Where Are We Going?"]

[Text] I do not remember which publishing house had published before the war the book by Abbe Mauriot "Who Are We, Where Are We, and Where Are We Going?" In that book, this Catholic priest, a mathematician by training, had attempted to bring under a common denominator mathematical-astronomical truths with the "truths" of the Christian religion. History, starting with the time of Copernicus, had labeled such efforts as "futile," which makes the intellectual content of said book not worth mentioning. However, worth mentioning with proper respect is its splendid title, which is universal and comprehensive, which embraces everything pertaining to man and his world.

Who we are we know. Since the time of Homer we have dreamed of a better, a more just and more beautiful life. Each historical age has had its specific attitude toward us

but, all in all, we have always been considered by the ruling society as worthless and violators of the "law." It was only after the Great October Revolution that the bolshevik dreamers, led by Lenin's party, turned into builders and, leading the millions-strong popular masses, began to build the first fatherland of dreams. They laid in its foundations the two basic principles of the Marxist classics:

1. There should be no exploitation of man.
2. Man should not have the right to private ownership of public means of production.

As of that point the bolshevik dreamers became bolshevik builders. They built the world building of socialism, guided by Lenin's instructions and Lenin's party. The enthusiasm of the builders, born in the flames of the revolution, performed a miracle as great as the biblical miracles but, unlike them, a miracle that was real: in no more than 10 years (1920-30), guided by its bolshevik party, the working class converted backward rural Russia into the leading industrial country in Europe and the second leading in the world. However, the builders-dreamers also created new worlds in the spiritual area. Socialist humanism is their creation. They were the first to proclaim peace as the only alternative to destruction and to make it the foundation of their international policies. They were the first to assign to culture or, respectively, to literature, the great task of ennobling the human soul and making personal and social relations among people more beautiful, in the sense of morality.

The same tasks, although later, after World War II, were undertaken by the "dreamers" in the countries belonging to the socialist camp. They were favored by history, for their way was lit by the experience of the initiators, because they could make use of the lessons learned from an already time-tested practical experience.

Briefly, this is the answer to the question of "who are we?" We are the dreamers and also those who make their own dreams come true. We are making the dreams of innumerable generations before us come true, dreams of a better, more just and more beautiful life. We are those who have decided to turn September into May. We are simply communists, the Argonauts of the present, looking for the "golden fleece."

And so, where are we?

Where are we on our way to the "golden fleece?"

We know that ideals never coincide with reality the way two equilateral triangles with the same dimensions would coincide. Ideals always "run ahead" of reality and reality is always "chasing after them," drawn by them. It

is such catching up that provides an incentive for development. If such an incentive were to disappear, mankind would begin a process of degradation until it drops down to the historical level reached by its hairy ancestors, thousands of years ago.

Life has taught us that some ideals are attainable (some of them with difficulty) and that some ideals are unattainable and as illusory as "a summer night's dream." Many honest fighters of my generation joined the 9 September revolution with the attainable ideal of overthrowing "King Capital." However, after they dethroned "King Capital," they flew upwards, with the "third space rocket," separated themselves from the gravity of the real world and lost the concept of the reality and its unavoidable laws. That is why they began to believe that the transitional period of socialism would be covered quickly, in a couple of years, so that, finally, they would reach the ideal communist society. The ideal "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his needs" seemed easily attainable and all that was needed was to discuss and pass the latest decree....

The expectation that socialism would be "rushed through" in "a couple of years," so that we could quickly reach communism, was a "summer night's dream," the fantasy of flaming revolutionary enthusiasm. After climbing a few steps to the peak of the 5th decade since the revolution, we realize that we are facing an endless space and that the path leading to communism will be long and twisty but must go, to begin with, through improved socialism. It is sad to consider how much distance is left to reaching the perfected socialism, when a country such as the Soviet Union has already entered its economic and social territories. It is now being realized by the socialist countries themselves that not a single one of them has attained this theoretical possibility. The CPSU, headed by its General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, was the first to discover the coordinates of the possibilities which were lost. They crossed in the field of stereotype and the old bureaucratic habits of administrating and commanding; they had sunk roots in the fear of having a new, a contemporary type of socialist democracy, the fear of radical change in the economy and social relations. They were fed by the swampy practice of stagnation and conservatism. In order to restore the power of socialism and to eliminate the obstacles to its development, we needed a revolutionary program for basic change in the socialist society. Such a program was adopted at the 27th Party Congress. Restructuring came as a historical necessity, as a new stage in the development of socialism, organically related to the realities of contemporary life.

All countries in the socialist camp found themselves below their possibilities in the field of economics and with a more or less underdeveloped socialist democracy in the social area and the economic superstructures. Progress was delayed by reasons which were common to the entire camp along with those which were specific to each individual country. The 13th BCP Congress

adopted a platform for surmounting negative phenomena essentially in our economic development and its related social structures; its July 1988 Plenum announced a program of historical significance leading to the revolutionary socialist restructuring of all areas of our social life.

Like all good citizens, the writers heartily welcomed the restructuring program and wished themselves (the older ones) to live long enough to enjoy the good things which renovation will bring the people. They are interested in all its aspects—economic, social, etc.—but most of them are not particularly interested in economic matters; they are not all that enthusiastic about the economy but enthusiastically look at the parts dealing with democracy, and quite insistently wish to study its fine points. This particularly applies to those people who are showing a certain skepticism concerning the work of leaderships in general and who, in some cases, consider that their rights have been consciously or subconsciously neglected.

Before concentrating on those problems of restructuring which, directly or indirectly, pertain to literature, let us determine at least the general reasons which led to the categorical need for radical change in party, social and state work. Determining causality is the prime task of literature, for without it literature would resemble an uncontrolled and mechanical reflection of reality, and reality would seem like a collection of bits of a random mosaic pattern. Without determining the causality of social development, literature could not bring to light the characteristics and contradictory features of human nature.

The need for restructuring was triggered by many reasons but the main one, in my view, was economic. It turned out that the members of the socialist camp were unable to make use of the potential of the socialist organization of production in order to attain and surpass the social labor productivity achieved by the most developed capitalist countries. Yet we know that the growth of social labor productivity determines the saturation of the market with goods which satisfy the needs of consumers, are accessible to the mass consumer and are competitive on the international market in terms of price and quality. The growth of labor productivity determines both the living standard of the population and the material foundations of culture and of all superstructural elaborations which ensure the well-being and harmonious development of society and the individual.

The enhancement of social labor productivity was delayed, furthermore, by the extensive production methods used, the delayed assimilation of the scientific and technical revolution and, last but not least, the obsolete administrative methods and lack of application of economic incentives in production and labor organization.

In addition to the unsatisfactory labor productivity, other factors caused economic stagnation: excessively centralized and bureaucratic management; the participation in the practical management of economic mechanisms of the party, which was alien to it; the lack of a socioeconomic tie between the worker and the production process and the worker's nonparticipation in production management; and the low standard of socialist democracy.

These were the basic reasons which had an adverse effect on economic development. The economy continued to be guided by methods which were suitable in an earlier period and no longer suitable in the age of scientific and technical progress, the social awareness of the working people and the requirements of modern consumption and the modern international market. Contradictions accumulated, which held back the economic development of the socialist countries. The contradictions themselves were linked to social relations which were ripe for a change. Social relations had to be redeployed on the basis of a true socialist democracy which demanded the active participation of the working people in the economic and social management areas. It was this that put restructuring on the agenda. Its purpose is to eliminate the reasons which hold back the development of socialism and to elevate socialism to a higher and more advanced standard. In itself, restructuring is a new socialist revolution which continues and further develops the ideas of the Great October Revolution in the age of scientific and technical progress, and a revolutionary renovation on the road to a communist society.

The twin tasks of our contemporary literature are to reflect the essential features of restructuring and the way they are reflected in the life of the people; to apply the principles of restructuring on its territory, i.e., in its creative activities, not by interpreting them mechanically or instilling them according to a prescription.

The targets of literature are the concepts of restructuring which influence human thought and behavior. This includes, for example, the concept of the broad and comprehensive development of socialist democracy. I believe that many people understand the concept of "socialist democracy" in a primitive, in a simplistic manner. Actually, this concept is an open one and social development will always introduce new aspects within it. Socialist democracy does not end in the least with the right of a simple majority or a qualified majority to solve matters in one area or another of social life. The right of the simple or qualified majority to make decisions is only a component of the concept of "socialist democracy." The number of raised hands or ballots dropped into the box decide matters in bourgeois democracy as well.

The majority of those who have voted does not determine the moral value of the decision voted upon. The true moral value could be on the side of a minority, if this minority is struggling for a solution which coincides

with the principles of socialist humanism. The "peculiarity" of socialist democracy is that it enables us to determine the moral value of a decision not on the basis of the number of votes but on whether or not this decision coincides or does not coincide with public morality and with the moral ideals of socialist society. A moral evaluation is not based on mathematics, which is what separates socialist from bourgeois democracy.

The task of literature is to instill the fact that truth is real only when it is in a state of complete unity with the standards of socialist morality while socialist morality is organically related to the interests of society and the people.

Socialist democracy is one of the main pillars on which the monumental building of restructuring has been erected. It is very important for its foundations not to be corroded by formalistic interpretations and subjective considerations. If the foundations begin to shake the entire building may be fatally threatened.

It is not said in vain that we must learn how to live in a socialist way. Life in a socialist way means culture, knowledge, and labor habits, brought together by the idea of service: service to the people for the sake of humanism and the people's good. Life in a socialist way means the search for truth and beauty, turning life into the triumph of truth and true beauty.

In the final account, what is socialist democracy? Socialist democracy is the realized need to think and act for the sake of the ideals of socialism and in accordance with the laws governing socialist morality.

The object of literature is the so-called glasnost, the public manifestation of the truth in connection with a given social phenomenon. It is a component of socialist democracy and precisely for that reason we should be extremely careful when we interpret and apply it in daily practice. Nothing could be less true than the claim that in terms of glasnost everything is clear and that it is simply a basic concept which does not need any particular interpretation. Why? Because glasnost is a sword with two edges. Glasnost is useful when it is honest and based on conscientiously studied facts, from the viewpoint of Marxist knowledge and of socialist morality. Glasnost is harmful when it is based on a subjective attitude toward a phenomenon, on cliquish policy or on settling personal accounts.

That is why glasnost must not be considered simplistically or taken in advance at face value. This does not mean in the least that we are essentially rejecting its significance and usefulness. Glasnost is a wedge which pierces the shield of concealed unconscientiousness and organized silence. However, in order for glasnost to have authority and to serve the truth it must have no admixtures of subjectivism and tendentious distortion of facts.



In connection with this mandatory requirement, allow me to address some remarks concerning the article by Ivan Granitski, published in the latest LITERATURE FRONT issue.

Above all, those who proclaim glasnost must not assume the stance of being messengers of God and the only just judges. Ivan Granitski says in his article that the novel "Chudakut" [The Eccentric] is poor and that anyone who likes it has read the novel with a feeling of bias. He thus accuses of bias, i.e., of being biased critics such as Efrem Karanfilov and many other domestic and foreign critics who liked the novel. The author of this article could have been forgiven his scornful and insulting attitude toward "the others" (in the final account, this is a question of upbringing and ethics), had he put in front of his opinion the little words "in my view." Everyone has the right to his own opinion and no one should be accused of expressing his own opinion. However, no one has the right to canonize his view as being the only right one and the only just and honest one. To canonize one's own opinion is alien to socialist democracy and socialist criticism. It is alien even to bourgeois criticism. No bourgeois critic has proclaimed himself the only envoy of the literary Themis. At one point Saint Beuve, who was tremendously arrogant (in any case he had better reasons to be arrogant than has Ivan Granitski) proclaimed Georges Sand a greater writer than Balzac. Saint Beuve has provided many superb assessments of his contemporaries. However, history remembers him for his erroneous (and comical) assessment of Balzac. Naturally, I am far from the maniacal idea of comparing myself to Balzac. I merely wish to point out how far could a critic reach if he tends to canonize his opinion as being the only accurate and the only honest one.

Therefore, restructuring will deploy our further socialist development along new roads the length of which no one knows but something that everyone does is that they take us to the objective which appeared on the banner of the October Revolution and was made known to the world with the historical shot of the "Aurora."

The seeking of new ways does not mean in the least that we had not been advancing toward a great victory so far and that we have not achieved historical successes. We changed a social system. We laid the material foundations for socialism. We organized a socialist society which, in 40 years, took our fatherland to a leading position among the developed countries. We wrote good books and created a culture which raised the contemporary man in the ideals of humanism. With our April Plenum we put an end to the cult methods in management and building, and restored the attractiveness of socialism. Not everything developed properly. We made mistakes in the choice of strategic areas in our economy, the social area and the organization of agriculture. Despite the difficulties, however, we have advanced and built a socialist society.

In order to make its way to a general situation, literature, which deals with individual cases, frequently "anticipates" wrong moves in politics in one area or another; using its critical enthusiasm, it could help us to avoid errors or to correct them. However, in order to build the spiritual aspect of socialism, the generation of writers which came out of the revolution was not accustomed to cautioning the party or to "interfere" in its work (naturally, through its creative efforts!). Instead, it had become accustomed to obey the party and unquestionably to approve each one of its steps or decisions. In the battles with the class enemy we were the party's soldiers, and revolutionary discipline demanded of us obedience and executing assignments entrusted to us. That was the awareness with which we came out of the trenches, for which reason, for quite some time, we could not even conceive of telling the party: "At this point you are wrong!" or else, "This decision you have made is wrong and your policy is mistaken!" We transferred revolutionary discipline to the peaceful period of construction and this type of discipline was mastered, to a greater or lesser extent, by the new generations. That is why if we leaf through the pages of the books written during that time, we are unlikely to come across a critical attitude concerning an important problem of party policy. However, let me be understood accurately: excluding the situation during the period of the cult, this discipline was not being imposed upon us, we carried it in our minds voluntarily. It became a tradition to the couple of generations which followed: it gradually weakened, it lost its strength, it disappeared as time went on. Nonetheless, "something" of it, albeit extremely modified, remained, leaving some traces.

Starting with the middle of 1956 (the April plenum), the writers of our generation and other writers who matured creatively, began to create works saturated with a critical attitude toward reality. The criticism of reality and the assertion of socialist achievements became the main dominant features in our literature. It is important to note that the qualitatively best works were saturated with a critical fervor. Let us name books such as "Prokurorut" [The Prosecutor], "Putishta za Nikude" [Roads to Nowhere], "Dvama v Noviya Grad" [Two in the New City], "Murtvo Vulnenie" [Dead Excitement], "Sedemte Dni na Nashiya Zhivot" [The Seven Days of Our Life], "Otdelenie za Reanimatsiya" [Reanimation Ward] and others. Our plays were enriched with the critical works by Stanislav Stratiev, Kol'o Georgiev and others. In poetry as well lasting and exciting critical works were created. In can be said that in some cases the critical dominant prevailed over the line which was asserting itself, although in the works which proved themselves we could see positive changes in the minds of our contemporaries as well as the appearance of new, socialist features in his character.

Our literature is not unanimous in its critical assessments of some events which occurred after the revolution. Bourgeois literature creates its assessments on the



basis of its own class criteria, both esthetic and ideological. The assessments of our socialist literature concerning events should be based on a different type of criteria: on our class-party approach and the criteria of necessity.

From the viewpoint of the class-party approach, collectivization was a political necessity. However, was the repressing of some people necessary in the implementation of this process?

In physics, when some phenomena are studied, we always take into consideration the "medium" category. In social relations, when a given phenomenon is considered, we always take into consideration the "circumstances" category. The international circumstances which prevailed during the period of collectivization demanded of it to be carried out at maximal speed. This maximal speed requirement presumed steps which in no case could be synchronized with the principles of socialist humanism.

God forbid, I am not a supporter of repressive measures! However, nor am I a supporter of assessments in which the category of necessity is ignored.

This matter has many facets and, naturally, cannot be solved one-sidedly. In my view, the assessment of this event is a matter for the future, the future to which restructuring is taking us.

Many blank spots remain in the pages of our literary development, from the revolution to the present. The consequences related to the period of the cult have remained outside the range of our literary interests.

The consequences of the repressive measures taken in the countryside were accompanied by a great deal of sighing. I think that it would be more adequate for such sighs to be related to the process itself and not to its victims. If someone were to object to this, I would ask: Was there any sighing in literature for the victims of anticollectivization? For those who were killed by the expropriated and by their mistaken supporters? For those whose destinies were catastrophically destroyed for remaining on their posts as defenders of the revolution and disciplined executors of party policy? How many boys did not become doctors, officers, engineers, architects, and so on, because party policy forced them (along with their own conscience of being soldiers of the revolution) into the role of watchmen?

We can skip over the sighing, but what about the blank spots, where the enthusiasm of creative work should have blossomed! Ignorant people, with modest professional training built dams and huge plants. How pale and poor is their descriptions in literary works "which describe" their exploits!

The truth and the untruth concerning migration from the villages, the closing down of villages, the destinies of those who migrated and became "urban residents," people with devastated souls, a lumpen reserve and "Jacks-of-all-trade" are marked with blank spots!

There is total unanimity among writers concerning party policy and, unanimously, the writers supported the party course.

However, is there unanimity in terms of the literary process?

I think that we cannot speak of such an idyllic situation.

The stratification began at some point in the mid-1960's, when Goncho Zhechev and Andrey Gulyashki submitted their reports on the features of our national mentality. As of then conflicting views arose on the spirituality of the contemporary person, the role of regional differences, traditions in Bulgarian literature, the contemporary artistic style, evaluation and reassessments of historical and literary events, and so on.

The reasons for the stratification are numerous but one of them, the main one, suffices to create intolerance of the various concepts of the spirituality of the contemporary Bulgarian person, the spirituality of the Bulgarian people in general. At first the matter may seem academic but superstructural elaborations convert it to a matter of outlook, of a world outlook even.

Literary assessments as well depend on the answers to such questions.

Such are the literary emotions with which we welcome restructuring. Let us hope that its socialist-humanitarian trend will put an end to the stratifications, to the major ones at least, to those which lead to differences in assessments.

05003

#### **Chief Editor of Trade Union Daily Discusses Changes**

*22000054 Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST  
in Bulgarian Jan 88 pp 2-5*

[Article by Damyan Obreshkov: "The Journalism of Restructuring"]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee July and November plenums faced our journalism as well with the need for restructuring. The qualitatively new social tasks require a qualitatively new journalism, which must struggle for their implementation. Of late the problems of journalism itself have matured, urgently demanding a search for contemporary solutions and a radical change in the present status quo.

The latest party plenums made a major theoretical accomplishment: a model of a more advanced socialist society and practical approaches for its building and development. This social project, which is as attractive as it is difficult, must become social reality in the next 5 to 15 years. The speed with which some subsequent decisions and actions were made, such as changes in the attributes of power, reorganization on the higher level of management, the creation of oblasts and the new status of municipalities, and the forthcoming transfer of socialist property to labor collectives for management indicate that the implementation of this project is under way and that further restructuring is needed so that our entire social life may be based on the principles of self-government. The most difficult and most complex change is ahead: converting from administration to self-government methods, which place both the individual and the labor collective, the municipality, the oblast, the state, social relations and the entire sociopolitical system in an entirely new situation. A task, tremendous in nature and scale, which until recently we imagined a thing of a more distant future, is now facing us, as tangibly as it is unknown.

We are gradually realizing that we are dealing with a system of interrelated objectives and tasks, and that reconstruction is comprehensive, and are startled by its dimensions. This is not an indication of disagreement or waiting but rather a stage of retuning, an effort to understand our own role, a search for support points for initial action in a tempestuously changing reality. It is precisely under such circumstances that the mass information media, despite the large number of articles published on the July plenum, all in all are falling behind the new requirements and are insufficiently contributing to the desired change. Even propaganda-explanatory activities, in which our journalism has experience, has not become systematic and is slow to adapt to decoding the theoretical concepts in such a way as to make them tangibly clear to the working people. The stipulation that today what matters is action and not words cannot be used as our justification, for our work is precisely nothing but words. The question is what type of words are needed for restructuring and how can journalism restructure itself in order to become the ideological wedge in social change?

In the past 1, 2 and 3 years, newspapers, periodicals, television and the radio have adopted a more critical and, in some respects, a more analytical attitude. Many journalists improved their skill in the study of and in researching more extensively our reality and writing socially significant works on the most important problems of domestic policy. New unstudied topics appeared. Journalistic methods became more varied and greater attention is being paid to work with letters to the editors. At the same time, however, our journalism is paralleled by manifestations of stagnation, the inability to "dig" in the most important areas, and a dulled response to the sharp problems which excite public opinion. The guaranteed status quo of the mass information media and

their personnel, the fixed size of editions and the lack of competition do not contribute to the development of journalism. A certain arrogance developed as well in our journalistic circles. Many are our colleagues who look somehow from the outside and from high on up efforts to change and who speak and write about shortcomings as though they do not affect them, as though they are angels. It is on the basis of such a viewpoint that one can easily reach a state of nihilistic scorn of accomplishments and concentrate exclusively on negative facts and phenomena.

In addition to everything else the November plenum made a very important statement concerning the mass information media. It was a statement expressing criticism and dissatisfaction. The assessments which were made and the ways which were indicated for restructuring are aimed at enhancing the social status of Bulgarian journalism, helping it to reach a new social standing. Yes, what was said was absolutely accurate: the entire system and structure of the mass information media must be reviewed fundamentally. The number of newspapers, periodicals, bulletins and all kinds of other publications has increased greatly; all limits have been surpassed bearing in mind the scale and needs of our country and society. This is the main reason for the scarcity of paper. Another truly major problem is that of training the quality of the journalist as an ideological worker, as a servant of the people. An entirely new situation will be created after the mass information media have been converted to operate in accordance with the principles of self-management: after they have been granted the socialist property to manage and after they have elected their own managements. Naturally, this will accompany improvements in the system of ideological party management and control on the part of the people.

The requirements which were formulated toward our journalism at the July and November Party plenums lead us to a profound reinterpretation of functions, approaches and the very content of journalistic work and the social role of the journalist. It is clear to all of us that we are facing the most noble of all challenges, for when we undertake a revolutionary project, and when the true struggle for social change begins, the most favorable area for work is provided to the journalist. Journalism anticipates, records and analyzes changes long before social sciences have completed their studies. It is the most sensitive barometer of the social mood and, at the same time, it is able to influence the moods and convictions of the people and their social activeness. Consequently, it is precisely we who cannot allow any waiting today.

The traditional "Journalism-Actual Creativity" review of last autumn naturally was under the mark of the resolutions of the July plenum. This time the discussions were emphatically in the nature of debates; many sensitive problems were raised and we also reached a remarkable progress in our concepts concerning the profession and its new problems. Dissatisfaction was the main mark

of the quite frank discussions. It became clear that we need an even more self-critical and uncompromising review of our work, a review which would lead us out of a feeling of security and calm. Such a review should apply to the major problem of the nature of journalism today and the way it should serve the party and the people under the conditions of a historical change.

It would be necessary and expedient to consider such review in two main groups of problems: those of our creative work and our profession. I am separating them arbitrarily, aware of the fact that they are organically interrelated in practice. Consequently, it is a question of the content, of the quality of the social function of journalism and, at the same time, of the organization, of our professional laboratory.

### I.

A great deal of courage will be necessary to enable us to realize the fact that we are allowing infatuations in our concepts of journalistic creativity as considering it, above all, synonymous with glasnost. We need glasnost, naturally, for it is an element of restructuring. However, in no case does it cover the great task of reorganization undertaken by the party. The processes of restructuring which are encompassing all of social life, the problems of the individual and the collective and of social relations, are much more profound and complex. We must at least determine the type of glasnost we are referring to. Could it be that we are applying a one-sided view of this concept as being, above all, the open presentation of shortcomings. The open show of shortcomings is a necessary prerequisite for clearing the way to restructuring. However, clearing the way in itself does not mean restructuring. It involves above all a new type of individual and social awareness, a new type of individual and social behavior and, therefore, a new type of social practice in which we can implement the real social ideals and principles formulated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and further developed under contemporary conditions by the Communist Party, based on the stage already reached and the existing specific circumstances.

In that case journalism does not play the role of the town crier who makes failures and faults public, but a weapon for developing a social awareness based on the strategic revolutionary tasks which society sets itself. Attacking a given shortcoming and its bearers is only part of the struggle for social change. Such an attack must be uncompromising and honest, standing on the positions of our great truth. However, this is immediately followed by the question: When we reject, when we struggle against negative phenomena, what is the higher justice toward which we are aspiring and how shall we reach it? At that point we immediately touch upon the very essence of journalism.

Socialist journalism means waging a struggle for investigation, study and discovery for the sake of the future. Even while it curses the ulcers of yesterday and today, it

does so for the sake of tomorrow. Its main vocation is to shed heat and light on new social experience, which is the embodiment of the great ideas and historical tasks of society. It is even more necessary for this warmth and light to be applied precisely now, when the new social experience has not as yet become reality but is only a plan. We would like to develop self-management which does not exist as yet. What exist are efforts, which are painfully difficult, and old inertias. There also exist the tender and modest shoots of new developments, which need a favorable social climate.

In my view, today the main target of our journalism is the newly developing social relations and man within these relations. It has been said that "the new relations of ownership will contribute to the new reallocation of power in society, i.e., that there will be a change in the political relations leading to a new type of democracy, in which the center of gravity of the entire social structure will be shifted from the top to the bottom of the pyramid." Many other things were said, naturally, but even this formulation alone contains a large number of new problems which are awaiting the militant pen of the journalist. There will be counteracting forces, lack of understanding and pseudoinnovation. The inertia of bureaucratic administration is unlikely to stop automatically. On the contrary, it will do everything possible to fit into the new forms by changing nothing but its label. That is why the greatest problem which is facing our society today is whether we shall be able to develop true self-management and whether the constructive energy of the people will be truly released or else we shall allow the splendid formulations to be blocked by the modifications of neobureaucratism.

It is of essential importance to us the way we approach the interpretation of the new social experience which is developing and the means we shall apply to this effect. We can clearly claim that in the initial period there will be a blend between propaganda and the organizing function of journalism. In practical terms this means that the sociologist, the scientific worker in the area of social management will be more convincing with his article if it is based on the result of the observation of one or several collectives. We no longer consider effective articles which repeat basic concepts or merely discuss them. What we need are works which evaluate the newly developing reality looked at through the lens of theoretical concepts. In turn, the journalist engaging in a research project within a labor collective will inevitably add his own observations and analyses, for the experience which he will be studying will not be complete. In the final account, this will lead to the summation of experience on a broader territorial or sectorial scale.

Consequently, priority in our work today is given to the organization of research. This has nothing in common with short visits to enterprises and institutes, which end with one or two discussions and do not fill even a normal work day. Obviously, it would be useful and necessary to assign the best trained journalists to become anchored,

in the literal meaning of the term, in enterprises where we can see a firm adoption of a true socialist self-government and management. It is urgent to organize a creative cooperation between journalists and sociologists and between journalists and economists.

Journalists, journalism departments and editors will accumulate specific impressions and publications; they will involve scientific workers who show an inclination to engage in dynamic research. At given times and stages they will reach the level of extensive analyses and the search for and discovery of typical features, in order to be able to sum up the initial results and outlines of difficulties and hindrances and to offer new solutions. This will be the highest level of glasnost and a struggle for a successful period of giving birth to the new. It will mean constructive journalism. I do not believe that this process will take place without criticism, merely with gentle treatment and the pleasant buzzing of bees. Nothing of the kind: there will be harsh criticism, battles and risks and, in all likelihood, sharp rebuttals. In all likelihood we shall also print unfair rebuttals, for a newspaper will not be a newspaper of the editors only and must provide space not only for the views held by the editors. I am certain, however, that if we print more unfair rebuttals, their number will decline.

Obviously, the implementation of the resolutions of the July and November plenums and, subsequently, of the National Party Conference was not a one-time propaganda campaign but a permanent penetration of new ideas and tasks within the overall content of the mass information media. Naturally, there will also be specialized sections and specially developed topics and problems. What is more important is that the spirit of restructuring must become a natural feature of our entire work. It must become the starting position of any publication, without any declarative statements but as a result of internal convictions, of logic. It is precisely thus that we can meet the requirement of developing a social climate and a willingness in the people to engage in making profound changes.

Thus, if we ask ourselves the question of what type of journalism we need after the July and November plenums, we could answer ourselves as follows: it must be a journalism of research, discovery and militancy. It must be a journalism which will support what is new and emphasize it as an economic, social and moral example. It must attack all sorts of barriers which will be erected in opposition to the development of the creativity of the popular masses. It must penetrate into the changes which will take place in the minds of the people and, above all, in the attitude toward socialist property.

We must ask ourselves another question as well: What type of ways and means we must abandon, as unsuitable under the new conditions. At that point, in all likelihood we would realize that the various initiatives launched by the editors have become obsolete. These were initiatives which we demanded that collectives and working people

follow. This is an artificial project which does not yield results and cannot truly interest the people, particularly under conditions of self-government. Today we need systematic, patient, zealous and warm concern for the promoters of socialist self-management and true scientific and technical progress which will lead us to the peaks of global accomplishments.

Work with letters to the editors has indeed improved. However, we note within it a great deal of ostentation and unnecessary publicity. It is much more important to study the letters and to respond to the problems which they suggest to us. A real dialogue with the readers, viewers and listeners presumes making extensive use of reactions to our publications and broadcasts, both agreements and disagreements. A true dialogue calls for providing a suitable answer also to questions we consider embarrassing. It is quite unlikely that such questions will be asked. We shall have to deal with obsolete habits and prejudices.

In the final account, we must stop considering editorial premises as being our own, and newspapers and broadcasts our own terrain. There will be journalists as long as there are newspapers, television and radio which, however, will increasingly become rostrums for the society and for its best representatives. In this sense, obviously, we should revise the concept of the nonprofessional author and of his practice. The scientist, the worker, the physician are not professional authors in terms of the profession of journalism. However, they are very professional in terms of their own skills. Consequently, there is something not quite accurate about this word with which we have interpreted this concept. Furthermore, recording and retransmitting the thoughts of working people by journalists is obviously imperative when the working person has neither the time nor the opportunity to do so himself. In such cases, however, we should not ascribe authorship to the journalist, for this is his obligation. Let the name of the worker alone be mentioned. If the worker has read what was written and has approved it, it becomes his own expression. These are his own thoughts and the fact that someone else has helped him to record them is immaterial.

## II.

The July and November plenums encourage us to engage in an overall review of the structure of the mass information media, the organization and training of cadres, technical facilities and distribution. Technologically, we have fallen substantially behind the most advanced countries. The modern facilities of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO are about to be commissioned. This will be a major nationwide accomplishment. However, the other newspapers and periodicals are experiencing increasing difficulties in terms of prompt and qualitative printing. We need an overall modernization program (including, naturally, the television and radio).



Furthermore, a number of problems and contradictions have accumulated in our practical work, and the time has come to find their more expedient solution. This involves the size of editions, classification into categories and fees. It would be suitable for the Union of Bulgarian Journalists to assume more firmly its responsibilities and to suggest a uniform system of categories and wages.

The time has come for newspapers, periodicals, the television and the radio to be converted into autonomous enterprises in the sense of self-government. They must begin to show concern for their own development. This will mean setting up funds, loans, etc. In the case of television and the radio this means the fees which are collected from the population for the use of television and radio receivers to be paid to these institutions. If necessary, they should be raised to a certain extent in order to be able to ensure the self-support of an otherwise profitable activity, particularly if we take into consideration the use of advertising. If we organize matters on this basis the problem of reducing the personnel will be solved, for it will be based on requirements and no editorial board would employ even one person more than is necessary.

It may be that at the present stage the most painful problem is that of the size of editions. Under conditions of self-government, mass development of initiative, economic independence and self-financing, shall we continue to maintain long established sizes of editions? Shall we continue to ignore that some newspapers and periodicals are in demand? Strictly defined control figures or ceilings set for some editions mean the aspiration to reach them and, in other cases, a rather low limit. Under such circumstances neither the editors nor leading institutions in the area of propaganda would know what is the real demand for one type of publication or another. Furthermore, this will dull one of the most important incentives for the development of newspapers and periodicals, such as larger editions and, why not, higher profit as well. Competition has been reduced to a minimum, for which reason the development of newspapers and periodicals is much slower than the possibilities of editorial boards and of journalism as a whole.

It is quite possible that a free subscription choice (after a review of the structure of the press and the closing down of some publications) would indicate that newsprint at our disposal is adequate. If such is not the case, we should either ensure at all cost increases in imports or build our own plant. The reason is that the problem of the size of editions and their circulation is increasingly becoming a problem of the general development of our propaganda and journalism.

Such an approach adopted to the state and development of the mass information media would help us to solve a number of important problems much more successfully. This would include that of cadres and their advancement. With the existence of competition, and the need to

struggle for earning the trust of readers, viewers and listeners (the television and radio also could have competing programs) the hiring of cadres who are either unsuitable or untrained for journalistic work would become impossible. Everyone would train and improve himself naturally by making use of available opportunities. Approved journalists would not rest on their old laurels. A large number of ideas, means and ways of influencing the public will be created. The editors will have both the concern and incentive to develop their technical facilities, organization and quality of their output.

After July and November 1987 we must take a new look at and provide a new solution to old and ever more important problems, such as informing the journalists and their better access to state and social institutions. Problems of the editorial organization and democracy in the study of public opinion are becoming increasingly pressing. Competitions are currently being held and there is talk of concluding contracts. Neither, however, should be absolutized, for even the best competition is provided by the practical test in the course of the work. As to contracts, they are suitable for young, beginning colleagues. What type of time contract can be concluded with a noted journalist when it is an honor for the editors for such a journalist to work for them? At the same time, temporary contracts with noted scientists and specialists, for systematic cooperation for a specific fee would be of great value.

We seem to be entering a period in which journalism is assuming tremendous social responsibilities and is maturing so as to be able to solve them both to its own credit and for the good of their people. However, it is precisely for that reason that we must ask ourselves yet one more question: What type of journalists do we need under the conditions of the developing struggle for the implementation of the historical change earmarked at the July plenum? The answer would be the following: journalists who must fight for the ideas of the July plenum, who are thoroughly familiar with the party line and policy and with social reality. Journalists who are researchers, who are able to penetrate into the essence of the complex processes of restructuring and who, on each specific case, would look through the lens of the overall concept concerning our society. Journalists with high professional competence, who are steadily updating and developing their knowledge. Journalists with a life stance, with communist and civic valor. Such journalists must also be conscientious and honest toward themselves and those around them and exigent concerning their own behavior as citizens. They must be dedicated with their entire consciousness, loyalty and warm vocation to the great party and people's cause through their right words.



**Glasnost Begins at Home—The Writers' Union**  
22000060 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
28 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Boyko Petrov: "Apropos—Glasnost"]

[Text] Unquestionably, Atanas Natev is a learned man and if we were to use his vocabulary, we would say: the moment he writes an article it turns out into Glasnost, which excites our sluggish attention and makes us believe in the thinking of "nonstandard intellectuals." "If God has given us an imagination, let us make some effort," the author invites us in his article "Self Responsibility" (No 4, 22 Jan 1988, NARODNA KULTURA). And why not? Let us use our imagination in reading his thoughts in that article, thoughts which are truly dizzying even to the imagination of a Bulgarian writer.

As all of us know, the April literary debates already have their own tradition in the life of the Bulgarian Writers' Union and in the atmosphere of literary glasnost. Bearing in mind that they have a 9-year old history, it would be neither out of place nor immodest to say that they are one of the creations of the April party line and, naturally, the harbingers of the climate of increased glasnost. We described them as April, not because of an unrestrained outburst of the imagination, but because of the April-style nature of our spiritual culture. This is our first encounter with the kaleidoscope of pretentiously formulated and superficial views and assessments made by Professor Doctor Atanas Natev. In an atmosphere of glasnost one cannot write anything one wants, particularly if one lacks the courage to indicate the nature of the "present limits" of glasnost, its nature, manipulated by society, and the "muddiness" in which the new features find themselves.

The easiest thing is to write in general and irresponsibly, to fight abstractions and imaginary opponents. However, it is both stupid and ridiculous to try to appear daring and interesting at someone else's expense. Having obtained no information whatsoever as to how precisely glasnost is being "manipulated," and what have its "limits" so far been, let us at least try to understand what is the new feature which Natev defends in his article. The new feature is imaginary, as the author himself claims, although he clearly and specifically formulates it: "Let us imagine what would happen if after the April debates we had organized a May debate in Slavyanska Beseda. He also says: "What kind of terrible danger would have a May discussion created? For whom? Could it be that it would have brought us something useful?"

Are these questions? Or are these hints which lead on and misinform? And what are these "terrible dangers" in the imagination of the author? Who is so greatly afraid of the "something useful" for which he pleads? Does this same author know, assuming that he attended the April literary debates, that in those debates, unlike him, the writers spoke specifically about books and authors, that no author remained outside criticism, that the debate is

a rostrum for free opinion, that statements are not being censored and are being published in their entirety in collections which most authentically prove the type of atmosphere which prevailed at the discussions? But could it be that Natev is up to something else, of shifting the professional terrain of the April discussion and allowing graphomaniacs and maniacs to penetrate it?... They do come sometimes, Comrade Natev, but they feel uneasy, they are irritated precisely by the "value filters" you mention in your article, but which are uncompromising toward them. In their claims they would have probably gone beyond your line. They would have probably suggested to the Bulgarian Writers' Union that the discussions be held in Hyde Park, and take place not in April but at Christmas time.... In such a case we would have most pleasantly exchanged compliments and "non-standard" views.

What would have prevented Atanas Natev so far to write a daring article or report on problems of literature, culture and the study of the arts? Would anyone have prevented him from organizing a May, June or September debate on significant problems of our cultural life? Could we not glimpse behind such seemingly selfless theorizing and through the thundering and pompous sentences certain ambitions and passions which bear a strange resemblance to LaFontaine's fable of the fox and the grapes? Unfortunately, Natev's claims do not seem to us the result of noble motivations. There is something rather cunning and speculative in his views. It is cunning, for he is relying on the demagogic substitution of fiction for reality. There is something speculative, for glasnost is a two-edged sword and Natev uses one edge only.

And so, what is the new thing to which we are summoned by the "Self Responsibility" article? The answer to this question reveals nothing but the verbosity of the author, which leads him to engage in hints which, to say the least, sound unserious and speculative. The ecological balance of our culture is threatened, he goes on to say. By reading his article, one is left with a depressing impression of total chaos and neglected value filters in our culture. Having read, with great delay, the reprint of Geo Milev's periodical PLAMUK, with inimitable rhetorical skill and pathos, Atanas Natev "discovers for us" the truths which so far have been unfamiliar to the Bulgarian writer. He pleads for an innovative and aesthetic rebellion like Geo Milev's, and claims how much we need him now, with his daring views. This note is accurate!

However, if we apply this sharpness and temperament to Natev's "scientific thinking," we would find that the milestones of our cultural development, as rated by him, do not reveal any competent methodological skill. It is by no means such "landmarks" that determine the historical future of our national culture. Atanas Natev's "filters" should be more selective in what they allow to go through....

We do not intend to defend everything in our culture. Such a "position" would merely take us to the "threshold of embarrassment." Natev's claim concerning the many weaknesses in our literary periodicals is true. However, are such weaknesses found there only? If criticism is abstract and lacks actual substantiation, it absolutizes the truth and creates prerequisites for speculation.

What then is he promoting in his article?

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**Roundtable Discussion on Literature,  
Restructuring**

22000057 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
28 Jan 88 pp 1-2

[Roundtable discussion conducted by Ivan Balabanov:  
"Let Us Not Lower Criteria"]

[Text] Yes, talent, the innovative and truly contemporary, the daring, honest and compromising attitude toward lies, half-truths and stereotyped thinking, called upon to recreate the artistic truth of our time, is the high and mandatory objective of restructuring in literature. LITERATURE FRONT will not haggle with anyone on this subject. The organ of the Union of Bulgarian Writers will assume its proper position only when it assumes responsibility for the fate of restructuring, for the fate of criteria, for the fate of the high quality of literature. Any compromise aimed at achieving an average level and inertia of the system and monotony is, essentially, an obstruction to restructuring. Any tolerance of shortcomings in our work sites is actually being a co-author of mediocrity and bureaucratism, which are the sworn enemies of the new, anticipatory thinking.

Restructuring is an irreversible process. It is questioned only by those who have found a cozy place which suits their personal advantages and mediocre objectives. But why is it necessary to restructure mediocrity, who needs its change? Something else is more important: the creation of the type of atmosphere and style in which the talented person will feel well, will feel that he is a creative individual, and will know that his right to disagree with stereotype is protected.

We can no longer tolerate stereotype in our literature. Its glasnost would be totally worthless unless we mount a decisive and uncompromising struggle for the type of moral, ideological and esthetic loftiness which will become the social platform for public thinking, which would shake it up and cleanse it, which would encourage and go beyond even the ideas of renovation. It is precisely at this point that the basic question of work areas in literature, editorial boards and publishing houses arises, which issue "passports" to new facts and phenomena which open the way to new names and are responsible for the quality of literary work. Why conceal it, we are not sufficiently uncompromising toward poor quality, well entrenched mediocrity on the average level,

and the speculative substitutes of what is truly talented. We can no longer work this way, for everything seems to indicate that there will be sharp turns which must be mastered if we are to survive. It is not insulting to return a talentless manuscript although written by a talented author. What is talentless is to accept it for publication precisely because of the author's name and prestige. It is insulting when we show suspicion toward talented topics, ideas and conflicts which we consider heretical only because they are new and unacceptable in terms of our present scales. Soviet literature did not insult its readers by offering them the mercilessly dramatic confessions of Aytmatov, Rasputin, Ribakov, Astafiyev, Dudintsev, Bek, Shatrov, and others. On the contrary, this led to the creation of the type of necessary and full feedback between writers and readers, which is in the interest of the truth and without which restructuring is impossible.

Today's LITERATURE FRONT discussion includes Simeon Sultanov, director of the "Bulgarski Pisatel" Publishing House, and the following editors in chief: Evtim Evtimov, LITERATURE FRONT; Vladimir Golev, SEPTEMVRI; Georgi Konstantinov, SUVRE-MENNIK; Bozhidar Bozhilov, FAKEL; and Borislav Gerontiev, PULS. The topics of this discussion are the National Party Conference and our general aspiration to be more responsible and more exigent toward the major tasks of our literature in this party, national and truly contemporary progress toward the future, known as restructuring.

*Simeon Sultanov:*

[Question] Restructuring is a talent project but, Comrade Sultanov, mediocre, average, bland and totally unnecessary books continue to be published. It is as though there is no power capable of stopping them....

[Answer] Tell me what that power is so that I could immediately use it in publishing. Average books will always exist, for a literature does not consist of masterpieces exclusively. It is important for average books not to determine its standard. As to mediocre books I no longer know what to say. We are struggling against them, we are condemning them yet they continue to be published and to reproduce themselves. They are even proud of themselves.... But is everything under the control of the editor who should stop them? What about reviewers? What if such reviewers are heroes of socialist labor, academicians or noted writers? Usually, it is precisely such reviewers who are condescending and willing to compromise. This is done for reasons of friendship, humanity or morality, or any considerations other than those of literature. If you would look at the portfolio of manuscripts you would see how few clear, categorical, essentially negative in-house reviews exist. Therefore, the question arises of our responsibility before we sign our names. We still lack such a feeling of responsibility.

[Question] This, however, does not excuse the editors....

[Answer] The editor is the main figure and the starting point of everything. However, it is always more convenient to avoid personal enmity and scandal caused by rejecting the manuscript of an established author. Unfortunately, today we lack editors such as Nikola Furnadzhiev, Emilian Stanev, or Elisaveta Bagryana, who believed that words must be as heavy as millstones. Things have changed. Editorial work has fallen behind. It is not prestigious and is poorly paid.

However, I am also concerned by other problems. I have heard and still hear hints to the effect that the Bulgarian writer is profit oriented. Do those people know that that same writer, unless holding a steady job somewhere, unless he is an editor, cannot subsist exclusively from his writings? His royalty from a book which he has taken several years to write would not average even a minimal monthly wage. Why do those people believe that to write is easy, who has instilled in them this lie? The writer works even while he rests. I am disturbed and concerned by the philistine mentality of many people and their pragmatism which leads them to gauge everything from the consumerist viewpoint and profitability to them. This leads to lack of spirituality and pettiness, to a low standard of thinking and behavior.

[Question] Yet restructuring is precisely a rejection of the stereotypes of such a way of thinking. It is an atmosphere and a prerequisite for the assertion of talented ideas and decisions and for people who think in a talented way....

[Answer] It is also related to anything dealing with the moral enhancement of man. Without a great feeling of morality man could engage in major violations of morality and, occasionally, even in the name of a great idea. Separating idea from morality is something very dangerous and terrible. The cult of morality is greater than the cult of the Divinity.

Man cannot live outside his own time. However, restructuring is not an administrative act but a spiritual and mental change. I increasingly think about the role of the writer in this change. He cannot deal exclusively with the current tasks of the moment but must help to promote social thought, to outstrip some truths of life. That is precisely what Ivaylo Petrov did in "Wolf Hunt." However, I do not see other books resembling this one.

In my view, today artistic journalism should be the leading genre in literature. However, it is still not adequately competent and frank. Enough of smoothing things over, enough beautiful verbal twists! Let us not belittle ourselves and embellish the manly beauty of clear truths! But as I am telling all of this, Comrade Balabanov, I also realize my own guilt and my own errors and omissions as critic and editor.

[Question] Let us hope that such is the case. This means that there will be change. I would like to see you also as a participant in the literary battles, Comrade Sultanov.

In recent years your absence in the area of reviews has been noted. At one point you were a very active critic. Today the silence of the talented critics is not the most talented stance they could adopt....

*Evtim Evtimov:*

[Question] How do you see the specific results of restructuring which depend on the work of a newspaper editor?

[Answer] Here we have a reciprocal and inverse tie. The newspaper itself shows best the extent to which the editors have restructured their work and the extent to which the spirit of renovation has created prerequisites for a new quality of creative toil. Let me frankly say that whoever accepts for publication mediocre and bland manuscripts, which are a compromise, if looked on the basis of class-party criteria, actually continues to serve the inertia of stagnation and has nothing in common with restructuring. He may speak out in favor of it but if his actions refute his words this means that he is in the wrong place. I would say that the editor in chief as well would not be in his place if he tolerates such irresponsibility.

However, there also are insincere and false supporters of the new thinking. For example, they seek sensationalism in everything, rather than that which is truly useful in terms of restructuring, the reader and literature. Therefore, the problem of responsibility has its very serious and profound moral and ideological-artistic dimensions. If we yield to the element of cheap and speculative glasnost we would find ourselves in the unrewarding position concerning this talented social advance. Although of late there has been a certain action on the pages of LITERATURE FRONT, I think that we have still not taken a decisive step toward change.

[Question] What is it that you are still unable to surmount in the inertia which has accumulated in editing LITERATURE FRONT?

[Answer] The inertia, precisely! Within it mediocrity and grayness coexist most peacefully and comfortably, along with a tolerance of an average standard and stereotyped thinking. Inertia does not come from talent. It is the offspring of mediocrity and of bureaucratic-administrative work methods.

[Question] For what reason do you occasionally sign to press compromised manuscripts?

[Answer] No such reason should exist. Obviously, however, occasionally I shut my eyes precisely because of that inertia and at that point this not only harms me but also harms the newspaper and literature.... When we close our eyes to such compromises we ourselves undermine the positions of the new thinking.

[Question] How can we distinguish between those to whom restructuring is their destiny and those who simply disguise their thinking?

[Answer] No one wears on his lapel the badge "restructured" or "unrestructured." Words, however, are the actions of the writer. We judge of his support of the new thinking by the quality of his words. I do not trust people who change their views and restructure themselves to find a better position based on the circumstances. I believe not only the word innovators but also the innovators of ideas, the action innovators who were born not for the sake of being carried on someone else's back but of bearing high over their heads the party banner, their party conscience, as Georgi Dzhagarov wrote in his time. It is in that spirit that I accept the party's imperative of restructuring.

*Vladimir Golev:*

[Question] Restructuring is accelerating its pace. The first issue of the periodical SEPTEMVRI also proves this. However, I would like to ask you about the artistic depth of this process, of the depth of penetration of the change into the heart, and the need for better experienced and more socially motivated truths.

[Answer] In the first issue of SEPTEMVRI we published a survey related to restructuring in literature, which covered a number of other problems. It is hardly possible to find the artistic depth and deep penetration into the core of change, as we say, in a survey. However, the development of restructuring in our country, as outlined in the resolutions of the July Plenum, indeed requires giving priority to better experienced and more socially motivated truths. Such are also the demands of our time. When we touch upon serious problems which determine the further destiny of the entire country, our society, literature and art, things become very serious. This particularly applies to works currently being created by Bulgarian writers in the fields of poetry, fiction and plays. Perhaps in this case political journalism assumes priority. Like poetry, it always rides the crest of a wave. To go back to the works published by SEPTEMVRI, I believe that they are as yet to begin to reflect this process in its depth and width, not sensationally but, to the extent of the possible, by penetrating into the essence of the changes which are taking place.

[Question] In terms of the future of our literature, glasnost is inseparably related to the full truth of its present condition. What are the parts of the present which we must decisively reject in order for our struggle for high quality to be effective?

[Answer] I can say one thing: Today having a literary publication is a complex and difficult matter. Writing, seeking the truth, is difficult. There are many weaknesses and shortcomings. The new thinking about which we talk and which we frequently thoughtlessly proclaim to have mastered, demands of us, above all, greater exigency and

elimination of unnecessary phraseology, arrogance, self-promotion and a light-hearted attitude toward work. If all of us fulfill our obligations as we should, there would be no need to surmount many of these difficulties. On the other hand, the entire truth for which we plead would be of no significance whatsoever if we are merely satisfied with noting its existence. It must become the core of our activities in specific and practical terms. Works of art must be imbued with precisely such requirements. Going back into the recent past, we would see that such precisely were the considerations of the editors when they published Pavel Vezhinov's "The Barrier," Ivaylo Petrov's "Wolf Hunt," and several books by Bogomil Raynov and some young authors. In the latest issues of the periodical we have included two works by Borislav Gerontiev, one of which is entirely journalistic. It deals with most modern sensitive problems. Such is also the nature of the latest novel by Kostadin Kyulyumov, "The Break," which was published in SEPTEMVRI, as well as "Stork Snow" by Yordan Radichkov and "A Commission of Experts," by Aleksandur Karasimeonov, about to be published. I could indicate many other reprints from Soviet publications, which provide profound thoughts about our times. Even if this is not the definitive result, it is at least a good beginning in the struggle for quality, for a new way of thinking and shedding light on the truth.

[Question] Are you satisfied with the standard of criticism in SEPTEMVRI? Why is it that critical reviews and articles dealing, above all, with nontroublesome authors, are nonetheless published so sporadically?

[Answer] I have said elsewhere that I believe critical reviews in the periodical to be objective and sensible but I would like them to be sharper and more aggressive and to react more sensitively to our time and problems. Because of the very nature of the periodical and the publishing business we cannot act like the weekly publications and sponsor constant debates. Naturally, I fully agree that some books and individual works are worthy of serious criticism. Many such books exist. This is true. We try to evaluate them accurately. We have no other solution, for this is demanded by reality: to develop ever sharper and more critical articles and reviews.

[Question] Are there objective reasons preventing the editor in chief of SEPTEMVRI to enable him to cut off frequently this unrestrainable stream of mediocre manuscripts?

[Answer] Not a stream but a flood.... This is always disturbing, not only to myself, as editor in chief, but to the other editors of SEPTEMVRI as well. Occasionally we print weaker works by a famous author for the simple reason that he is our contributor and has given us considerably better works. Not everything that a good writer writes could be a masterpiece. In other cases we would publish this type of work by a young author if we considered that he is talented and needs moral support. Many other considerations exist as well. It is very



difficult to be absolutely impartial. Naturally, it would be good to have in each issue something in the nature of "Wolf Hunt," "Magic Lantern," or "Stork Snow," but such things do not show up every month or every year. Now, with the struggle for restructuring and new thinking and high quality, I believe that the weak and monotonous works will be published less frequently.

This is our aspiration and our stance.

*Georgi Konstantinov:*

[Question] Talent is the context of restructuring. The struggle for talent is the essence of restructuring. However, this struggle is not easy.... Where does the most frequently encountered opposition come from?

[Answer] If we are to characterize the social restructuring which we must carry out, we would probably have to consider a large number of major and minor unresolved contradictions to which we have not paid adequate attention so far. Most likely, the greatest contradiction and the most serious clash which triggered a number of negative phenomena and shortcomings in our lives has been the conflict between talent and lack of talent, between the person with a professional attitude toward public obligations and the amateur, the "semi-educated" and semi-able person. Obviously, we have already reached a stage in our development in which we must realize that the qualities of the individual also determine the quality of our life. Anything which irritates and suppresses us, anything which erects barriers on the way of our progress largely stems from lack of competence, carelessness and irresponsibility, which are three inter-related phenomena. A person who knows and loves his work is hardly likely to be in a situation in which he shuts his eyes in the face of major or minor thefts, errors or collective or personal irresponsibility.

[Question] What else do you dislike or displease you about PLAMUK?

[Answer] I am dissatisfied, to begin with, by the fact that we do not make full use of the weapons at our disposal: the atmosphere of glasnost, the multiplicity of young literary talents who try to cooperate with the periodical, opportunities for more translations, particularly from Soviet publications and, above all, unused opportunities in the field of social journalism and literary criticism.

[Question] What are the difficulties facing the editor in chief of PLAMUK in order to demand greater exigency and greater responsibility as an inflexible work style of the periodical?

[Answer] At this point I may be paying my dues to misunderstood democracy. All of us must make efforts to enhance the figure of the editor, to make him the type of erudite and strict guardian blocking what is mediocre and drab. He must be the first to support any bright and talented work. All of us must work to promote the

authority of the individual editor. PLAMUK has had editors who have left marks in literature and as editors: Veselin Khanchev, Andrey Germanov, Bozhidar Bozhilov, Ivan Paunovski and others, not to mention Andrey Gulyashki, the first editor in chief of the renovated PLAMUK, who restarted a number of things....

[Question] The discussion on journalism and documentary publications held in PLAMUK proved to be very timely and useful. What practical and encouraging results do you expect from it?

[Answer] Unquestionably, of all the genres journalism and documentary publications are, to a great extent, closest to life, to its daily emotions and concerns. The discussion we held on the state of journalism and documentary writing is actually a discussion on the problems of life and their reflection in literature. Initially we feared that such a discussion may turn out rather boring and abstract. It turned out that in speaking of the problems of these genres we kept touching upon various sensitive problems of our daily life. The practical result is that we already have a clearer concept of the extent to which contemporary writers value the facts of life and the ways of converting them into art. An even more practical result is the publication of a book on documentary literature by the Bulgarski Pisatel Publishing House, which has combined all materials on this topic published in PLAMUK. The main feature of this discussion was that it essentially confirmed the link between literature and life.

[Question] Is there anything truly new coming out this year which you believe is broadening and deepening our concept of the change in the thinking of the writer?

[Answer] Let me first emphasize that we have received many and interesting new poems on contemporary topics, written by poets belonging to different generations. What is new is their contemporary reaction. Many of them lyrically speak of dramatic things in our lives (Ivan Davidkov, Blaga Dimitrova, Ivan Radoev, Stefan Tsanev, Kalina Kovacheva, Ivan Tsanev, Matey Shopkin and others). We have also received several interesting novels which will be published in PLAMUK. "The Summer of 1850" by Vladimir Zarev deals with a historical topic but with contemporary emphasis concerning historical data. The novel "Corruption" by Aleksandur Tomov is also sharply topical. We shall also publish the crime-psychological novel by Vladimir Golev, a novel on a contemporary topic by Atanas Nakovski and a lyrical-satirical novel by Boris Khristov.

We have already initiated a discussion on young poetry. So far it has been quite smooth but we have come across different views, things are warming up and everything is leading toward broader and more accurate conclusions concerning the condition of our young poetry.

[Question] What would the editor in chief of PLAMUK like to change within himself?



[Answer] I would like for the editor in chief to be more frequently a poet. What matters more, however, is something else: All of us must ensure the better protection of our literature in order to block accidental paths crossing it or accidental bypassers. We must not forge that great literature is taller than us and perhaps marches ahead of us.... It is particularly necessary to mention this now, on the eve of the National Party Conference....

*Vladimir Zarev:*

[Question] Today there is talk in our society of greater rights but also obligations related to glasnost. Could it "become hoarse" and be left without a voice, as the saying goes...? What type of glasnost do you support?

[Answer] All of us believe in the tremendous and inexhaustible spiritual energy of the word. The profound, truthful and lofty word penetrates through everything. It conceals within its very core the idea of sincerity and glasnost. Furthermore, without the word there is no national memory, however significant a given event may be, and however great a "shining moment" may be, it must be recorded in order to remain durably in the memory of the people. Imagine how much of its glitter the April Uprising would have lost without the works of Ivan Vazov and the immortal epic work by Zakhari Stoyanov. Today we are at a turning point. We clearly realize that something must change in the social structures of socialism, in social development, in every one of us, for without glasnost (in all areas of our life!) there is no responsibility. Glasnost means, above all, responsibility. All of us are still talking, talking and talking about glasnost but we have not created the real mechanisms which defend its right to exist. As to the rights and obligations of the writer in the time of glasnost, they are entirely one and the same. The writer has the right and the obligation to write the best, the most honest text according to his capability and to write the type of book about our time which would remain in the national memory.

Unfortunately, there are those who have converted glasnost from destiny into profession. Without having accomplished anything significant within and for Bulgarian literature, and without having proved their aesthetic and social morality, they have identified with the conscience of literature itself. Mikhail Gorbachev warned us against this special type of circumstantial careerism. If we convert glasnost into a permanent wish and if we noisily express one-quarter or one-half of the truth for our own benefit, silence would be preferable.... I support the glasnost of the moral and capable man.

[Question] The literature of restructuring, new thinking, truth in sociopolitical life and of the struggle by the party and the people is beginning to bring to light its real possibilities in Bulgarian prose and poetry. In your view, what is the new spiritual situation in our literary life? What is it that still hinders it to reach the level of the lofty social ideals of our time?

[Answer] For many years there has been a great deal of talk about the "positive character," which is proper. The positive character exists. He is everywhere around us. He is the bearer of the grandeur and the drama of the difficult times in which we live. The literature of restructuring should address itself to the pains and yearnings of this character, for today he is dangerously threatened. Note that in order to buy himself a color television set, the positive character is forced to bribe the negative character and, unwittingly, we place him in the position of a stupid dolt. By some kind of logic it comes out that a virtuoso physician (a highly educated and uniquely gifted person) must give a hundred times more than his salary for a difficult surgery to the tile layer who will line with tiles the walls of his bathroom. The state of our transportation is such that the positive character comes to work tired. We force him to wait in line, we waste his time, we play on his nerves, for if he needs black oil paint all he can find in the store is plaster and if he needs plaster today the store will offer him drill bits. It is difficult for the positive character to find housing and woe to him if he has to go to a hospital. That is why I am convinced that the positive character does not need praise or mindless admiration. He truly needs protection! Let us protect the honest person from the bureaucracy, from arrogant ignorance and injustice. This is the meaning and task of social restructuring and, consequently, of contemporary literature. With its entire spiritual power and inherent immaterial spiritual energy, the world of literature may not be the surgeon of society but can be a splendid diagnostician.... Such features should be encouraged and utilized. It is precisely in this that I see the opportunities offered to us by the new situation in our social and literary life.

In the course of restructuring and the great ideas and new thinking, a process of change and fateful expectations, Bulgarian literature must be also talented!

[Question] What responsibility could and should your generation of writers assume in order to achieve an upturn in thinking, and a true renovation of artistic truth?

[Answer] This is a generation of writers who, although entering mature age, are close to life. They are familiar with the real problems and concerns of the ordinary person. These are writers who believe in the sacrament of the word and to whom writing is not simply a job but a human drama and destiny. There are four basic qualities which, in my view, define the writer with a true vocation: imagination, intuition, industriousness and morality. Whereas the first three gifts are only in the hands of God, morality is our own choice. It is our right and obligation. It is the highest mark of the uniqueness of the writer. To be moral in one's own eyes and through one's writings, to the people and to those wonderful changes brought about by restructuring, which give hope for the future; it is morality alone as a spiritual existence that can save our profession....

*Bozhidar Bozhilov:*

[Question] Of late you have published interesting things about what is happening in Soviet literature, which is to the credit of this periodical. But how, as editor in chief, do you view restructuring in the work site known as FAKEL?

[Answer] The fact that our periodical deals with Soviet literature and that our successes achieved over the past year are due to the reflection of perestroika in the Soviet Union, seen through the eyes of Soviet literature, made it mandatory for us to synchronize with this restructuring faster and more completely. To reflect a tremendous project while remaining away from it would also mean ignoring restructuring. It is regrettable that the shortage of paper does not allow all those who wish to become FAKEL subscribers, for which reason this year this periodical will be almost totally absent from the stands.

What are the criteria on the basis of which we select the most interesting features in Soviet literature today? In order to be able to make a good selection we work closely with the editors of Soviet periodicals and newspapers, for we must know in advance what will be published and what is being currently written. Currently we must find works which reflect most accurately and vividly, from the artistic viewpoint, the occurring changes as well as the reasons for them.

[Question] When you publish some of the most interesting writings of Soviet literature, what are your thoughts concerning our own literature and its involvement with Soviet literature?

[Answer] It seems to me that in our country there still exists an unjustified waiting on the part of many authors who, through their works, could meet more daringly and categorically the requirements of our time of change. I am convinced that we shall soon have such works which will provide a serious, dramatic and exciting feedback with the readers.

[Question] Which are the new Soviet books you prefer?

[Answer] "The Children of Arbat," because Ribakov has been able to provide a broad panoramic view of life, untouched, dramatic and sincerely optimistic.

[Question] And if you were to criticize this novel?

[Answer] I would note that in some places it has an artistic letdown. Some lines and problems are merely hinted at instead of richly painted by the artist. Our readers will unquestionably notice this when they read this work which was published in its entirety in issues 1, 2 and 3 of FAKEL.

*Borislav Gerontiev:*

[Question] What do you do when you are displeased with an issue of PULS?

[Answer] When it is unattractive, provocative and professionally crafted. When it does not contain even a single article which would make me jealous if I would see the same in another newspaper. And when I am unable immediately, accurately and specifically to answer the question: "What shall we read in your next issue?"

I have always been dissatisfied. Actually, I am pleased with my work as an editor of PULS for only one thing: the permanent feeling of dissatisfaction, the feeling that that which we are doing is not always on the level of our own possibilities at that time; that it does not always meet requirements which face all of us. Naturally, the discontent should be creative. It should not cast a shadow on the mood to work. It must not undermine faith in our own strength. It must not suppress the influx of ideas. It must not befog the clarity of objectives.

[Question] I believe that it would be fair to say that PULS has accelerated its pulse beat of restructuring in literature with an argumentative spirit which is useful in terms of outcome of the criteria in our crucial times. Do you feel protected in this work?

[Answer] Why protected? From whom? We feel free. This is not a freedom in the sense of license but a freedom which makes us feel more responsible than at any other time. It is a responsibility for the specific material and for the direction in which we are leading the newspaper. The direction is that of developing the spirit of discussion, engaging in a lively and intelligent dialogue with the young, so that they may master the standards of discussion and learn how to hear someone out and to understand someone else's opposite view.

It is thus that I conceive of and feel the mandate that the newspaper must establish its place and role within the system of our self-governing society so that it will be not exclusively a publication for young people but a publication of the young people themselves.

[Question] What is the ideological and esthetic platform of the newspaper on the eve of the Fifth National Conference of Young Literary Workers?

[Answer] We would like to remind them, under the new circumstances, of some eternally young truths: the fact that the backbone of Bulgarian literature is political, that we must be closer to life and more among the people!... Furthermore, also the fact that the world does not begin with today's young writers or end with them, and that the true innovator can be the one who has mastered the lessons of tradition; that it is a work which stems from

and blends with the spirit of the people that is immortal; that talent is not a privilege but a duty which must be paid for in the course of a lifetime through toil and dedication; and that in the age of the scientific and technical revolution the role of literature will be growing....

[Question] What must we fight above all in order to hammer out and consolidate qualitatively new criteria in the evaluation of artistic facts and phenomena?

[Answer] Above all, we must wage a struggle against nonartistic considerations. Quite frequently, not to say always, I see in the evaluation of an individual artistic fact or phenomenon reasons which are not artistic, such as this author is a friend of mine; that author is my superior; this one is simply a good person; that one needs support at this time; I expect something from this one; I like this.... This goes on endlessly!... Many people gauge events with a short yardstick: They do not look at facts and phenomena in the context of great art, their place within tradition, whether they can withstand comparisons, or make a contribution to increasing the variety of the overall picture. We must struggle against equalization, lack of an analytical spirit and the low standard of culture as it is accepted in our country....

05003

#### **Exhibit on Ecology in Ruse**

22000055 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian  
29 Jan 88 p 6

[Article by Van'o Todorov: "When Art Does Not Pretend"; Exhibition "Ecology—Ruse'87," Boulevard G. Dimitrov, December-January]

[Text] This exhibition might not have taken place. But as an artistic fact it is a gratifying phenomenon, and in the event the admiration is mostly for the civil courage of the Rusen artists represented at the exhibition "Ecology—Ruse'87." It is not so much a creative exhibit as the defense of an idea. The effect of the 41 works on display is in the absence of genre restrictions and in the freedom of choice represented in graphics, drawings, paintings, and sculpture.

In the majority of cases, the artists' imaginations run wild: burned out, depopulated land; dead trees, fish, and birds; children with gas masks; people with artificial respirators for lungs. Instead of fresh colors or small streaks of sunlight we see pessimistic dark red and grey tones, oppressive yellows and blacks. Hopelessness wafts even from the titles of the works: "Locked Expanses" (Mihail Beshev), "Wounded Earth" (Tsvetko Tsvetkov), "Dead Trees" (Dimitur Stanchev), "Pages from the Red Book" (Plamen Monev), "The 21st Century—Stroll in an Ecological Reservation" (Roberto Andreev), "Deserted Landscape" (Parush Parushev), "The Menace" (Rayna Besheva).

In other words, the exhibition has been created to respond to an idea that disturbs the public in Ruse. It is contained even in nonartistic facts (displayed on a board at the entrance to the exhibition hall). In 1982 Ruse experienced 26 gas leaks of chlorine from the chemical factories in Giurgiu, up to 3 times the highest permissible concentrations (HPC); in 1983—33 gas leaks up to 5 times the HPC; in 1984—56 gas leaks up to 9.2 times the HPC; in 1985—47 gas leaks up to 6 times the HPC; in 1986—50 gas leaks up to 6 times the HPC; and in 1987, up to 27 November—69 gas leaks up to 9.06 times the HPC. Automotive transport and other Rusen factories also produce air pollution.

This is the air that more than 200,000 people breathe. Somewhere among these figures there's oxygen. At the same time, the concentration of chlorine was up to 14 times the HPC, and mineral acids—up to 40 times. This inevitably leads to a sharp increase in lung diseases. I shall cite the figures given in the municipal newspaper by Dr Evgeni Nazurov, chief physician at the Ruse hospital. In 1975, when there were no leaks of chlorine from the Giurgiu factory, for every 100,000 people in the population, 969 were ill. Ten years later the figure was 17,386 ill. Now in Ruse there are 3,500 people with chronic nonspecific lung diseases. In 1986, 86,228 children and 62,138 adults attended clinics in the town suffering from diseases of the respiratory tract, and 2,924 children and 1,546 adults were admitted to hospital. One more fact: for every 100 people in the population there are 950 days of temporary inability to work.

For many this will sound terrible, even improbable. But the word "accident" (possibly in the chlorine factory), even in an unspecified time, sounds like an ecological apocalypse to the inhabitants of Ruse. The situation is quite serious, looked at on all possible levels. The Office of the Council of Ministers adopted decree No. 25 for improvement of the condition of the environment in Ruse and resolution No. 234 for additional steps to ensure its execution. Special Bulgaro-Romanian commissions held sittings. For the inhabitants of Ruse, the announcement of every intergovernmental meeting, and of the progress of repair work in the Giurgiu factory, is the beginning of new hopes, as is the appearance of articles, interviews, poems, and pictures on the subject.

This is why no other art exhibition in the town has ever had so many visitors. I am tempted to cite a few comments from the exhibition guest book: "The exhibition is wonderful! And sad! And terrible!"; "This is the truth for Ruse, but the whole of Bulgaria should see the exhibition. If only art can help to save this great industrial and cultural center"; "Bravo, you have given us back our faith in the power of art!"; "I am enraptured by the artists' love of man!"; "Let's hope we are shocked by this requiem!"; "The exhibition inspires us with a new surge of hope"; "Let's hope 'Ecology—Ruse'87' is only a warning and not a prophesy for the future. We are moved to tears! Thank you with all our hearts to the artists!"

But let's leave emotions to one side. What is important is that the conscience of the alarmed artists has been raised to a struggle for the happiness and life of our native town. What is important is that this time art has shown its indissoluble link with the problems and tragic ordinances of the time. What is important is that art truly, in the literal sense of the word, serves the people and the nation.

12907

**Public Reaction to Pollution in Ruse; Letters From a Concerned City**

22000059 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
11 Feb 88 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Glasnost on the Quality of the Air in Ruse"]

[Text]

*Zdravko Kis'ov, poet, chairman of the Ruse Society of Writers:*

The hours and days may differ but almost regularly blue-yellow clouds and fog come from the other shore and spread over Ruse, irritating the eyes and mucous membranes, making breathing difficult and people cough. Holding handkerchiefs in front of their mouths, the passers by hasten to seek shelter in their homes, establishments and stores but even that is no salvation, particularly in the summer. Ruse is one of the warmest cities in the country with a temperature ranging between 30 and 44 degrees centigrade and it is inconceivable to stay inside, sleep or work with closed doors and windows. During the other seasons of the year the fogs are frequent in this area, helped by the river. Together with the products of the combine released in the air, the moisture—rain and fog—converts into an acid which affects the mucous membranes and respiratory tract. All a person has to do is look at the corroded and dried leaves of the trees at the very beginning of the summer to realize the consequences to people.

We know that writers the world over are in the leading ranks in the struggle for the preservation of the ecological environment. The intervention of the Soviet writers helped to save Lake Baykal and to protect from encroachment the northern Russian rivers. Even if it is not in a positive sense, the word of the writers must be raised in defense of nature, peace and man.

*Chavdar Petrov, Ruse:*

Ignorant mothers are walking their babies in an atmosphere of chlorine, unaware of the fact that they doom them to illnesses.... Every morning, as we go to work, our first concern is to breathe in the air and to determine whether it contains chlorine or not. But how can we forbid little children to go outdoors?

*Khristo Petrov, Ruse:*

We are breathing chlorine which is tearing up our lungs and hitting our central nervous system, melting our bones, bringing tears to our eyes and, from time to time, we break out in allergies....

*Lyuben Antonov, Ruse:*

For the past 33 years (29 of them as full-time correspondent of Bulgarian Radio in Ruse) I have been a professional journalist and have come across a number of "delicate" and "uncomfortable" topics. However, that which I have experienced for the past 5 years, ever since chlorine showed up in Ruse, could hardly be described with restraint. The problem of "chlorine over Ruse" is taboo for me and for all my colleagues, the newsmen. This taboo literally converted us into nothings, into cowards and virtual criminals in the eyes of our fellow citizens. I ask myself: Who needs this insulting and unexplainable taboo when a city is literally perishing!?

*Encho Topalov, Ruse:*

No one knows when it shows up on and over streets, when it comes, and when it goes. I can feel it with a slight delay only after it starts clutching at my throat. I feel like shouting at it angrily: "Are you back again?" I keep silent, for there is no one to hear me. It is silent, it is never noisy. However, this is its only virtue. It pays no attention to our demands that it leave us in peace. But then, when this chlorine starts choking me I do not shout for help or defend myself with my fists but pinch my nose first with one and then with two hands....

*Collective of the Danube Dredging Fleet, Ruse:*

After a 5-year exposure to gas and after choking for 4 consecutive days caused by the chlorine mist, excessive and over and above the admissible level, with tears in our eyes and heartache we call upon all mothers to help. We have written to many other agencies but the only answer we received was from the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, which forwarded our letter to the Environmental Protection Committee. Let us not even mention how many letters we have written before that or how frequently we have called people on the telephone!.

Where is humanity?!

*S. Dunavski, Ruse:*

An orange-colored cloud flew toward the city, captured the river and started sliding into the various districts....

A monument to a waiting mother stands on the bank of the Danube. Mother Tonka stands frozen there, eternally waiting for her sons. Today she is also waiting for the news that its thousands of great-grandsons will grow up healthy. We hope that she will see this day soon.



*Svetla Todorova, Ruse:*

Giving birth is painful, for a new life is torn out of one's body. However, it hurts much more when we see how with every passing day the life of our children is shortened. I am the mother of three children. How can they be blamed for being born in this "sold-out city?" It is a shame for a socialist society to doom people to slow and painful death. Yet such death could also become instantaneous with an eventual breakdown of this corroded chlorine plant which is located exactly opposite our city.

I ache for my children and for all children in our city.

Following are excerpts from the guests' registration book on their impression after visiting the exhibit "Ecology, Ruse 87," created by the city's young painters:

"We are students. We are not adults but we imagine that some of us will be mothers in the future. All of this concerns us and we feel helpless."

"It is terrible! We are mothers and we ache. This exhibit is very powerful and should be seen by anyone who cares for the city, nature and the people. Thank you, dear people, for this staggering truth."

"Many Ruse residents have left their beloved city. My husband and I are on the verge of divorce. For the past few years both I and my child have been constantly suffering from bronchial pneumonia. I wake up every morning with the thought of grabbing this child and taking off. But where? My husband is a native of Ruse and has decided to remain in the sinking ship.... This exhibit touched me to tears..."

"May 'Ecology 88' be an exhibit of Ruse flowers."

"My children are unwilling to leave their favorite native city. They want to live in it and to struggle for life within it. Ruse, I love you so much it hurts!"

"Let finally the air of glasnost bring fresh air...."

05003

#### **Fitting Intellectual Work Into Marxist-Leninist Framework**

22000053 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian  
18 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Svetoslav Rusev: "Blank Spots in Political Economy"]

[Text] Like any other human activity, economic activity is reduced to the choice of targets, the formulation of a strategy for achieving them and undertaking specific actions which will make their implementation possible. The target is in the future but becomes apparent today; it is as though it turns time around, reversing cause and effect, and "defuturizes" the future. It is as though the

social man breaks up a firm necessity although, actually, it is the opposite that takes place: man must take strictly into consideration laws which operate outside his will and awareness. If he fails to study and master them, how could he choose the most accurate, the optimal ones among the numerous possible objectives? How can he also develop a strategy, well-coordinated with objectives, in order to march with the time which is steadily accelerating during our tempestuous century? The acceleration comes from the fast dynamics of social life. That is why a large percentage of the objective laws which determine such dynamics undergo changes. Some of them become inactive while new laws appear.

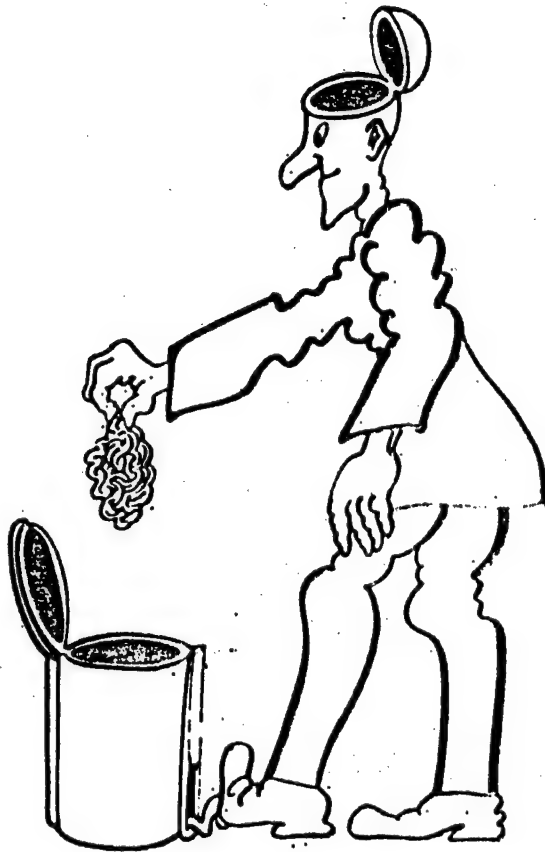
Those who fail to take into consideration the dialectics of fast development are doomed to stagnation. In his book "Restructuring and New Thinking," M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes that a way of thinking which was shaped in the past is the greatest obstacle to restructuring.

A great deal is being written on such problems in the Soviet press and, recently, in our country as well, emphasizing essentially specific practical problems. It is understandable to give priority to practical problems of restructuring, for it is precisely they that must be solved quickly. However, can we ignore the profound truth aphoristically expressed by Lenin, to the effect that there is nothing more practical than a good theory? Without a scientific theory practice is blind. It is doomed to wander around and to engage in unsuccessful attempts in one direction or another, take errors into consideration, go back, make new errors, and so on.

Actually, there are reasons to prefer practical solutions, for a proper theory, consistent with the accelerated development of time, has as yet not been created. Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, who is the president of the Soviet Sociological Association, has stated with concern that the social sciences are in a state of stagnation and that after Marx and Lenin the foundations of social science—political economy—have marked no development and that actually we do not have a political economy of socialism.

Let us add, however, that our variant of capitalist political economy as well is not synchronized with our time. Let us put our finger on the painful spot: starting with the middle of this century, capitalism has not been "writhing in mortal agony," as we expected; despite periodically recurring and surmounted crises and depressions, we are also forced to acknowledge that the West is continuing to create the most advanced tools and labor objects in decisive sectors and is successfully maintaining its advance in the level of labor productivity.

There is no satisfactory explanation for such facts within official political economy, which was not synchronized with the accelerated dynamic processes. Starting with the end of the 1940s signs appeared indicating that monopoly capitalism is changing and that some of Lenin's views



on imperialism should be developed further. Instead, dissatisfied with these symptoms, in December 1952, in his short concluding speech at the 19th CPSU Congress, Stalin declared that capitalism had finished singing its song and that nothing new could be expected of it in science, technology, production or any other area, and that its doom was forthcoming. Yet it was precisely at the start of the 1950s that the scientific and technical revolution was powerfully gathering strength in America and begun to enter Western Europe. This revolution made changes in monopoly capitalism which turned to a new phase of development and enabled it to extend its life indefinitely.

What is the nature of the new phase? Scientific studies, articles and monographs contain hundreds of descriptive but not essential answers. They explain the stages of the scientific and technical revolution and analyze the economic mechanism of state-monopoly control, division of labor within the capitalist system, the automation of production processes, the accelerated renovation of fixed assets, conversion to intensive reproduction, etc. However, no inroads are made in depth. The basic reasons, the objective laws which determine the observed and, otherwise accurately described phenomena, are not reached. Such is the large blank spot in our political economy of capitalism.

Both this and other blank spots, however, are not due to the creative weakness of this science. With the domination of dogmas imposed upon it, science alienates itself from the scientific method. Yet the development of scientific thinking requires democracy, a free exchange of views, and discussions among equals; it does not tolerate the domination of authorities and dogmas.

The removal of the blank spots would require making changes and additions to some of the concepts formulated by Marx and Lenin. Yet who would dare to do this or to allow the printing of "heretical" thoughts without exposing himself to the terrible accusation of revising Marxism-Leninism? According to Lenin, however, revisionism means precisely the opposite: holding onto the text and letter of Marx and betraying his revolutionary spirit. By remaining loyal to this spirit, Lenin further developed Marx's theory and made it consistent with the objective requirements of the first decades of our century and thus developed Marxism-Leninism, emphasizing that this is not a dogma but a manual for action.

Monopoly capitalism was able to convert to a new phase as a result of the profound changes which had occurred in the structure of commodity production, which showed increased appetite for inventions and new developments yielding economic results. These phenomena did not remain unnoticed, and in the 1960s a debate was initiated in the Soviet periodical press. It was substantiatedly claimed that scientists and specialists working in scientific institutes, laboratories and development bases, along with the workers in factories and plants, participate in production, albeit in a different way and, therefore, in the creation of the added product, of the new value. The argument came to an end when the opposite side stressed that if we were to accept the participation of intellectual work in the creation of new values we would deform and emasculate Marx's theory. It was thus that dogmatism hindered the development of this science, although it was no longer difficult, on the basis of the level reached, to continue the work of the classics. We know that Marx distinguishes between concrete and abstract labor; in a similar way, but on the basis of an entirely different denominator, we could distinguish between the role of intellectual labor and the labor of the production worker. This would require supplementing Marx's theories of value and structure of capital, reproduction and turnover, reflecting the classical commodity production but, naturally, not consistent with the factors of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Has Marx ever said that his ideas are valid for eternity? The very asking of such a question sharply contradicts Marxism.

Party documents and scientific works have repeatedly stated that today science has become a direct production force. This accurate statement, however, has remained unused by science for dogmatic considerations, for which reason political economy fell behind. If it is

accepted that science is a direct production force, could we deny the fact that intellectual labor as well directly participates in the production process?

The result of this labor is an intellectual product. Historically, it is an entirely new type of commodity. It is a commodity because it is offered, sought, purchased and sold on the license markets. However, it is also distinct from any other commodity by the fact that in the course of the process of its consumption it remains intact. It does not disappear but is reproduced on a broader base. Any discovery provides an impetus for a new discovery and one discovery is followed by other.

"It is an intriguing paradox," the American student of science Dereck Price wrote, "that the more open the access to scientific publications is, the more private intellectual ownership can the scientist secure for himself." However, in this area the concept of private property cannot be used, for neither the knowledge of the scientist nor his intellectual product fit its narrow framework. The discovery by a scientist indeed remains with him, in his memory, but it is aimed at the entire world and becomes immediately internationalized. Even in the area of inventions and technical new developments, a patent is issued for a specific period of time only.

The true value and, hence, the real price of the intellectual product are difficult to define. The scientist is rewarded as is usual for each specific case with a certain percentage of the useful economic result of his discovery. If we consider arbitrary that the value of the discovery equals its useful economic effect, we would realize that major discoveries are invaluable, i.e., they are priceless in the literal meaning of the word. Who, for example, could compute the effect of Einstein's theory of relativity? What about the great contribution to quantum radiophysics made by N.G. Basov, A.M. Prokhorov or Charles Townes? It was they who made possible the creation of quantum generators and boosters of electromagnetic radiation—masers and lasers. Equally intangible is the result of many other discoveries. American mathematicians tried to compute the effect of Edison's inventions and established that, so far, the sum is in excess of billions of dollars. Another example among hundreds and thousands is the incalculable effect of the antibiotics discovered by Fleming.

In order to build-in the concept of the intellectual production in our political economy we must expand Marx's system of establishing value by including in it the intellectual product which transfers part of its value to the value of the commodity. Funds spent on an intellectual product are classified, by virtue of their nature, as fixed capital. However, considering the priority importance of the intellectual product and the quite different length of the time needed for its restoration in terms of value (compared with labor tools) some intellectual products repay the funds spent on them in 3 to 5 years;

others, due to their major significance, take dozens of years. It would be preferable to include these assets in Marx's system as separate components.

We must discover the laws governing intellectual labor and its product. In the final account, this is new information, so that in Marx's system of value, we should perhaps include the symbol I (information). As early as 1968, in his work "Cybernetics and Economics," professor Iv. Nikolov described consumer value and value as objectively developing information and price as inverse information connection. It is regrettable that such fruitful ideas were not further developed and related to intellectual labor and intellectual product.

Another blank spot in Marxist-Leninist political economy is the absence of a theory of consumer value, relatively separate from the theory of value. Marx had not considered in detail consumer value, for the idealist economists in his time identified value with consumer value. He brilliantly proved that it is not the consumer properties of a commodity that create its value but the labor invested in its manufacturing. In Marx's time consumer value remained steady for decades on end and could be neglected. Today, under the pressure of scientific and technical progress electronic goods, computers, biochemical products and others increase their usefulness so rapidly that each 3 to 5 years they replace their predecessors.

A properly substantiated theory of consumer value is extremely necessary in our practical work. The intellectualizing of labor and production is aimed at the creation of a qualitatively new type of goods of greatly increased consumer value.

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**Freedom, Decentralization Needed**  
*20200004 Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English*  
*18 May 88 p 10*

[Article by Edvin Sugarev: "Experiment as Necessity"]

[Text] To function, true art needs to be an open, unlimited and unlimitable organic system convulsing in dialectical contradictions. Art can be appreciated, art can be merited, but it cannot be channeled, art can be analysed, but not censured. Freedom is the only genuine attribute of art. Total centralization erases this inalienable freedom from art's face, replacing it instead with a conventional and rhetoric, hierarchically designed front, which in itself is a pure absurdity. In art, there can only be a hierarchy of artistic values, not of artists or their methods.

Cultural life in this country seems so far to have been bogged down by the lack of dynamism and of a self-generating dialectical attitude towards the facts of culture. Capital conclusions were long made on the basis of at least 50-year-old formulations and of truths generally

accepted as unchangeable and eternal. Instead of addressing bravely the current creative processes, we made the error of believing that everything was immutable and followed but one track. The time has come to cease regarding art "as the reflection of reality" in the literal sense of that definition, and to rediscover its informal and ideative meaning of an active and multifaceted commitment to the social and cultural reality—not a commitment to provide apologetic confirmation of that reality, but one basically directed at changed serving to widen and enrich it. It is high time indeed to assess the formal and tacit criteria of what is allowed, and what is forbidden in art. But in order to do so, one must obtain a clear picture of what the brakes to genuine development have been, to what their diehard vitality can be ascribed, and why art has been prone to embrace obviously regressive trends.

The reasons are basically the same: excessive centralization, a total imposition of set patterns, and a hierarchical caste structure of the existing cultural institutions. Plus the overt formal nature of the country's cultural life, the lack of aesthetical heresies or offshoots which could serve as its natural counterpoint and forces a cultural debate. In practice, some visibly aged organizations have been playing the role which the French Academy performed in the middle of last century, but in the notable absence of a "Salon des Refuses." The only progressive principle of all creative activity is that of free competition once eliminated, a dictatorship of pseudoart flourishes.

To break free of set patterns and musty cliches, which are still in full reign despite the sincere efforts of many of its creators, art must fight for two of its inalienable rights: to experiment and to provoke the public's aesthetic. Administrative censure in lieu of free dialogue and didacticism instead of aesthetic argumentation inevitably breed a narrow vision and a lack of competitiveness rather than debate, the various artistic factions feud, the one that gains the upper hand uses its power to lay down the cultural policy and to serve as the omnipotent judge of arts works. As a rule, such a situation allows those capable of bending over backwards to rise in favour and those incapable of compromise remain the losers for having stuck to their integrity which they hold more important than public recognition.

In endeavouring to revert our cultural life to its status of a free, decentralized, open and selfgenerating system of artistic phenomena and relationships, one should not harbour any illusion as to this so-needed reform taking place at the wave of the hand. In applying glasnost, we must bear in mind not only all the existing faults and flaws, but even the remotest possibilities that they might be overcome. To become truly democratic our cultural life must undergo some radical, even risky reforms, of the following kind:

1. A decentralization of cultural affairs and the abolition of the administrative hierarchy in the cultural sphere. The work and the status of the artistic unions should be

reassessed, so that from organizations controlling art they could evolve into professional associations promoting the fullblooded, free and equitable creative development of their members, guaranteeing them the right to display their works in public and to engage in open dialogue as proponents of different formal and aesthetic concepts.

2. Nor should the state-subsidized creative unions remain the only organized form of cultural life. The activities of free and administratively unaligned creative groups should be encouraged in every possible way. It is high time to reexamine our nearly pathologic fear of "groups" and to see what actually underlies it: is it a misunderstood thirst for ideological purity, or could it be the inability of the established aesthetic thinking to enter into dialogue with other artistic concepts.

3. The democratization of the ways art is produced should be accompanied by a democratization of the art market, where the law of supply and demand must be given a free rein. The evaluation of an object as a work of art should depend on the public's appreciation not on the administrative authority wielded by its author.

In conclusion, we could remind ourselves of a universal, but unfortunately oft-forgotten truth: Art, genuine art, is always a risk, always an argument, always a disruption of established norms.

(Abridged from the NARODNA KULTURA weekly 6 May 88 p 3)

/12232

### **Lack of Pluralism in Culture Criticized**

22000051 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian  
24 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Ivan Evtimov: "Monopoly and Culture. Why Pluralism Is Necessary in Cultural Activity"]

[Text] Encouraged by the opportunities proffered by centralized planning to resolve major social and economic problems in an exceptionally short historic period, we failed to notice its shortcomings until they threatened to discredit what we had achieved. The lofty aspiration towards integral planned management of social development conflicted with the capacity of that planning to engender monopolism.

For the convenience of centralized integral planning, society had to be structured by spheres of activity, and the precise borders of each sphere had to be defined to establish the relationships between the spheres and the hierarchy of their mutual commitments in the uniform integrity of the plan. Integral planning was constructed upon an exceptionally large number of direct communications and feedback, and in order to function it



required constant control and accounting. Thus, powerful administrative structures arose over every structure and every substructure, involving all social activities in the platitudes of control and accounting.

The secondary administrative structures rapidly became conscious of their strength. In control, they held in their grasp the real social activities (production, trade, transport, education, science, and so on), without which the existence of society is impossible. The interests of the administrative structures imposed on them several regulations: to preserve their right of control, and consequently their privileged position in society, they were often obliged to report on successes and fulfillment of a plan, irrespective of the actual processes in the social activities entrusted to them; and the indices according to which they reported had to be exceptionally easy to reach and so bureaucratic as not to be subject to real control.

And so it was that the more formal and fictitious the accounting became, the more real became the independence of this type of administrative structure, and the greater became their freedom to arrange the activities controlled by them. Manipulating the reports, the administrative structures in different spheres of society succeeded to a certain extent in neutralizing central management and public opinion, thereby consolidating their independence. They split society up into departments and began to impose laws of monopolism on public life.

The monopoly was undoubtedly concerned about the development of social activities. However, the issue is that, right from the outset, it doomed them to a one-sided development, serving the accounting procedure rather than the constantly developing social needs. They brought quantitative indices to the forefront—more goods, sizes, pictures, scientific developments, more articles. Quantity is important for statistics, and for the monopoly that lives by statistics. Because while quantity is faceless, quality is dangerous; it suggests individuality. Turning to someone, it demands comparison and evaluation, dialogue with another. From this point of view, every real thing is to a certain extent a threat to the monopoly, since it always has some quality, which conceals the danger of provoking consideration of the real meaning of monopolistic activity. This is why the monopoly, in its development, aspires to escape from the quantity of real things. It turns towards indices of value, seen as several arbitrary accounting operations, in which profit is calculated beforehand, outside of any sales of the manufactured product to the public. From the point of view of the monopoly, it is as if the product itself becomes less necessary. It may be reduced to a minimum, as long as the "indices of value" continue to grow.

In classical political economics, money is equivalent to value. In the economy of a similar type of monopolism, money becomes the equivalent of accounting. At this

stage, the monopoly has reached the absurd. It can no longer give anything to society, but rather develops and becomes consolidated at society's cost.

The aspiration of every monopoly is to maintain and enrich itself at the cost of other monopolies and of society as a whole. Therefore, it builds barriers everywhere, digs ditches, raises fortress walls, raises corporate ethics above public ethics, replaces the concept of humanity with the concept of organization. With such changed moral coordinates, it is entirely ethical to act against nature and society, as long as they remain outside the monopoly.

Monopolism is sustained by the status quo. It does not desire change because every change threatens to alter the borders of the social structure that is monopolized, thence to destroy the monopoly itself. Monopolism struggles against everything new and everything untraditional. It is afraid of all kinds of creativity, of every original thought, of the intellect in general. It is afraid of every, even the slightest, gesture of independence, individuality, and nonstandard behavior. Monopolism and standard are synonymous. Everywhere, monopolism propagates standards, instructions, and regulations, with the single goal of restricting, dividing, channeling every activity within the framework foreseen by the monopoly and making it entirely predictable, manageable, and controllable.

Monopolism also creates its own social type, who for a certain time becomes domineering, imposing his own ethics and style on the life of society. The monopoly's social type is the bureaucrat, who protects his own interests through the interest of the organization. The bureaucrat aspires to acquire his share of the profits of the monopoly, a higher position within the hierarchy. Monopolism creates its "one-dimensional man," who thinks and acts only within the framework of instructions, deprived of his own opinion and position, useful in his unique capacity—to serve.

In its essence, monopolism is harmful to the arts and sciences. Both the arts and the sciences are creative activities. They thrive on change, just as the monopoly thrives on stagnation. They strive to discover general laws, to create universal values, whereas the monopoly strives to keep everything for itself. Monopoly and science, monopoly and art are incompatible, yet despite this the monopoly is not only an economic phenomenon. Born initially in economics, it rapidly imposed its principles and laws on all social spheres. Monopolism at the foundation engenders monopolism in the superstructure. Art, education, and science are monopolized to the same extent as the economy.

Dividing and setting apart all social spheres, even without establishing a goal, the monopoly succeeds in isolating from one another the different aspects of culture. It imprisons them within themselves, surrounds them with social activities that have already been monopolized.

That alone is sufficient for culture to fall into a crisis, to lose its direct contact with the rich and contradictory reality that is sheltered from the monotonous organization of the monopolies.

But monopolism does not restrict itself merely to isolating culture. It infiltrates the organization of culture and reshapes it to its own form and likeness. Above all, it sets organizational goals above activity goals. If culture wishes to develop, to receive a share of the social product, to be financed, then it must account for itself through the organization, using the indices of the organization. From this moment on, culture is subservient; culture is serving the organization instead of the organization serving culture.

In the new conditions, the artist is also modifying his behavior. He does not turn towards the unknown connoisseur but towards the organization. Moreover, he aspires to become a part of the organization, since an administrative post guarantees him a privileged position in his artistic expression.

In art, monopolization leads not only to predominance of the artistic organization over creativity but also to the emergence of a particular type of art: the art of the monopoly—alienated, suprapersonal, sanctioning the anonymous power of the organization over the individual and society. Art loses warmth and humanity but adapts itself to the monopoly and finds there the powerful patron.

The situation in the sphere of science is more serious yet. Monopolism has no need for invention, discovery, or new ideas for social development. Officially, monopolism hypocritically declares itself "for" scientific progress, extols the role of science in society, but secretly stirs medieval prejudices, persistently cultivates public opinion against science, accuses it of fruitlessness, of luxury unnecessary for the country, proclaims it as a sphere that lives on the back of the remaining social structures.

And these accusations against science do not remain unfounded for long. On the one hand, in a monopolized society there is no "hunger for science", and, on the other hand, the monopolistic organization of science itself annihilates science from within. The merging of scientific management with administrative control bureaucratizes science, subjugates it to the laws of the bureaucratic organization. In the place of the creative spirit comes the spirit of bureaucratic obedience; in the place of scientific truth—the truth sent down from the boss; in the place of a battle of opinions, points of view, schools and directions—pathetic harmony around a theory; in the place of scientific developments in response to objective problems—planned tasks serving administrative reports. Instead of the opportunity to publish scientific works freely—monopolization of publication by the administration. Instead of a democratic scientific community—feudal scholar barons who appropriate the

work, authorship and discoveries of scholar serfs. Driven into such a corner, science is beginning still more frequently to "set a vain course," becoming as fruitless as the monopoly itself.

The primary democracy of socialist reorganization in society does not allow the monopoly in Bulgaria to develop in its most deformed molds. Monopolization has not halted the progressive development of our society although it threatened to become a real obstacle to development. The 13th Congress of the BCP, particularly the July plenum, brought to the forefront the need to overcome the negative consequences of monopolism as one of the most essential conditions for achieving the new model of socialism. The development of all forms of socialist property, transferring ownership to the hands of production collectives, self-management, self-financing and the imminent changes in the cultural sphere are guarantees that monopolism is living out its last days.

Bulgarian culture would not be able to develop further if it could not overcome the monopolism of its organization by separating administrative direction from artistic management, by electing and mandating management. But it would not be able to develop if it could not overcome the monopolistic principles in society as a whole. Culture needs a new economic base, made up of independent, self-managing economic units, responsible for their own fate, developing their own physiognomy through the difficult but only possible means of self-knowledge and self-confirmation—competitive struggle. Because the true competitive struggle is not an attempt to bring down your opponent by inadmissible means; it is not only saturation of production with modern technology, in which the intellectual work is routine; it lies in attracting culture into the spheres of economic activity, in using current intellectual work to develop the manufacturing, marketing, social and cultural strategies of the economic units. Only through such highly intellectualized programs can the economic units be aware of themselves as subjects of social relations, recognize their place in society, their exclusivity, their own goals and missions in society.

When the success of economic activity begins to depend on the complexity and integrity of the strategy and on the extent of social self-knowledge, then we could create conditions for true synthesis between art, the humanities and technical science. Then the departmental isolation of the different spheres of culture would collapse, and specialists from different areas would have the opportunity to organize programmed collectives according to criteria of social problems rather than administrative criteria. Competition in the economy is the only foundation on which socialist pluralism in culture can grow. The independence of economic units is a guarantee for the independence of artists and schools in culture.

When the economy itself is concerned that the achievements of artistic culture do not merely remain experiments, locked up in exhibition halls, but that they

materialize—whether in producing goods, or in building the environment, then the gap between artistic and material culture will begin to close. It is impossible to enjoin the common man to great art if we do not celebrate his everyday life, if the quality of his material culture is not in harmony with the quality of great artistic works. Our art is in need of new patrons—the real, common people, having overcome their alienation from the companies where they work, from the villages in which they live, realizing that they are the objects of political resolutions, having acquired the disposition of owners, of independent individuals, having recognized themselves as part of the civil society, which also has its rights and responsibilities. True diversity and the wealth of methods and points of view cannot exist if the connoisseurs themselves do not have different esthetic biases and tastes, if they are deprived of their own social position.

Monopolism attempts to place art and science, culture in general, in hothouse conditions, but from experience we know that hothouse fruits, while they look good, do not taste good. Civilian society, with its inescapable pluralism, with diversity of opinion, interests and esthetic arrangements, is a large world, where our culture must make its way after the warm but stifling atmosphere of the monopoly has gone.

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#### **Excessive State Secrecy Attacked**

20200003 Sofia *SOFIA NEWS in English* 3 Aug 88 p 9

[Article by Barukh Shamliov: "Areas Closed to Openness"]

[Text] More than 2 years have passed since the 13th Congress of the BCP decided that there were not and could not be any areas "off-limits" to criticism and glasnost.

As an issue, the limits to openness pertains to the integrity of socialist democracy itself: the very premise that there could be any limits to openness is futile once this openness serves public interests and the interests of socialism. In fact, all "left- or right-wing" attempts at hindering democracy seek to stall restructuring.

The consolidation of self-government boosts the working people's self-confidence; entitled to a free say on all social and political issues, people may demand that the authorities observe the principles of openness, shoulder the responsibility for their acts and respond to criticism with deeds. Moreover, those who govern a socialist country have the sacred right not only to a freedom of expression, but to freedom of debate, too.

For starters, many of this country's important archives are classified: a fact which cripples historians as it denies them the means of placing historical figures in a proper perspective, disrupting the natural flow of events in the recent history of the communist party and the country.

Admittedly, certain information should be classified for a certain period, be it of 10, 20 or 30 years (this period varies in the different countries). A proper criteria on which information should be kept secret and for how long, needs to be formulated—once this period is over, however, the ban should be automatically lifted and all documents should be made public.

Indicatively, even a democratic institution like the National Library has departments of classified books and periodicals one may use only by special authorization.

There is a lot to be desired in social information, a major part of which—major in significance, if not in volume—is off-limits, too. Or, to quote the report to the 13th BCP Congress once more: "Now that more and more people are being involved in the processes, of government, the role of social information has risen sharply.... This requires that glasnost of decisions and events should not be a privilege for a select few or a private domain of leaders. However, the facts cited further on will show a substantial discrepancy between this strategic principle and its practical implementation by party and government bodies. [quotation marks as received]

For instance, the tight lid on crime statistics is hardly justifiable but neither forensic experts, nor sociologists or journalists have any access to hard facts. Until not so long ago, crime rates were officially claimed to have dropped with every year, yet any attempt at learning the absolute number of court cases, rather than proportionate indices, was bound to lead up a blind alley. This has inevitably sapped the drive against the misappropriation of socialist property and other crimes. Only certain prosecutors and court officials know the actual crime rates in terms of sex, age, education and social status of offenders, the nature of their sentences, the number of repeaters, of offenders who have served their full prison sentences, and of those released earlier for "unknown reasons;" most important of all, only a limited number of people are aware of the trends in crime.

The facts on price rises, yet another off-limits area, have been covered up or distorted to a point where they have only made experts laugh, while propagandists try to avoid mentioning them at all. In what is a real flight from reality, the 1987 Statistical Yearbook (p 362) carries no data on the rise of commodity prices over a longer period of time, although it does note a growth in the industrial output and the national income.

Paradoxically, most data on actual living conditions in this country are classified; the relatively unimportant few that are available, are for official use only. Bulgarians, for instance, do not know whether there has been a rise/drop in per capita commodity consumption within social groups as compared to the rational consumption rates formulated by the December 1973 Programme; nor are they aware of changes in the Wages Fund's share within the national income, the number of working people below "the poverty line" or the number and social status of the literature, if any.

The number of permanently disabled people as a result of industrial accidents is very, very hard to come by, while any inquiry into the amount and annual rate of fatal accidents is bound to meet a dead end. Still, these could hardly be regarded as top secret information whose publication could endanger national security; they have been classified as top secret by the administration, not by the state.

Fiscal statistics are also kept under the lid—so much so, that statistical yearbooks have omitted a section on finance altogether. Yet millions of working people are not at all indifferent to the financial affairs of industrial, farming, building and other companies, their profitability, the annual amount of state subsidies per se and in proportion to the national income. Bulgarians can cite the annual money circulation and foreign debt of the U.S., Japan, the FRG or France, for instance, but are entirely at a loss when it comes to estimating their own country's money circulation or foreign debt: managers who did not know how much money they have at their disposal make poor managers indeed.

Clearly, the time is right for drafting an appropriate legislation on glasnost. The present hopelessly obsolescent press and official secrets acts should be substituted by new ones, categorically explicating the principle that any information is eligible for publication unless strictly prohibited by law. Official secrets may exist, but the ban on them should not be anticonstitutional nor should the relevant legislation be constantly "supplemented" by a gamut of regulations, decrees, guidelines and "telephoned instructions."

Openness equals a revival of national self-awareness, not gossip, as some people have claimed. Openness simply cannot have destructive consequences since it champions not a formal, but a true ideological unit of the people on the basis of socialism. People's social and labour potential will multiply once the social and individual cause are rolled into one. To this end, however, people should write and speak out openly with a concrete reference and no fear of retaliation.

(Abridged from the NARODNA KULTURA weekly 8 July 88 pp 1, 5)

/12232

### Thoughts on Nature of Socialist Pluralism

22000064 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian  
19 Aug 88 pp 5-7

[Article by Dobrin Spasov: "On Socialist Pluralism"]

[Text] Never before has Marxist philosophical criticism assumed that the term "pluralism" could acquire some kind of positive meaning; it had always defined its content as "monistic," as a bourgeois political structure and bourgeois ideology. Now, however, in the process of restructuring, the term has begun to appear, protected by the epithet "socialist." For that reason, in somewhat more "expressive" terms, we can no longer indiscriminately "spit" at "pluralism."

The multiplication of its meanings and its own "pluralization" are not a purely linguistic fact. Clarifying the nature of pluralism could be facilitated by a comparison between "before" and "now," conceived on a broad sociohistorical level.

Until recently our Marxist-Leninist theory and practice appeared remarkably monistic. Their ideological heights revealed a philosophical material unity of the world. All areas of social life were controlled by an omnipotent center, which was frequently personified. Generally speaking, it was like being at war: There was a single command, demarcated fronts, defined forces, and set tasks....

How different is the current picture! Naturally, the material unity of the world remains and so do societies as unified, albeit contradictory, "organisms." However, with increasing frequency Marxist philosophers are turning to specific individuals in order to rediscover their spirituality and individuality, and reassert the inevitable and irreplaceable role of their awareness, personal responsibility and moral aspect in stressing their own and the common human destiny.

Many years after Palmiro Togliatti proclaimed the conversion from monocentrism to polycentrism in the international worker movement, once again the Soviet Union, the CPSU and its leadership are in the vanguard of the socialist revolution. However, they are not acting as headquarters demanding the unquestionable execution of its orders, but as a most powerful generator of ideas and changes, which earmark the way to safeguarding life on earth and the implementation of the communist ideal. Some socialist countries have started a period of daring multiple-voiced criticism and self-criticism. The communist parties themselves are considering means of surmounting their own monopoly on management and means of distinguishing among the functions of leading institutions, stimulating mass and individual initiative, and guaranteeing "the freedom of everyone" as a prerequisite for the "freedom of all." The cult of the individual leader is on its way to becoming an intolerable anachronism everywhere. Elections are turning into



electing one among several candidates; the elect themselves become not only electable but also replaceable. Economic management is being decentralized and thought is given as to how to combine this with necessary centralized socialist coordination of economic activities. Opportunities for expressing individual opinions, individual styles and personal positions are multiplying in spiritual life. Together with glasnost, "socialist pluralism" becomes a prerequisite, an expression and a result of democratization.

Let specific studies determine the place, the duration and the extent to which the old monolithic concept was both fictitious and harmful. I am not about to defend it unconditionally with the help of the notorious formula that "it was right for its time," for I know that a time interval exists between the true elimination of the old and the formal legitimizing of the new, an interval in which the despotism of the old leads to the tragedy of the new. I shall repeat at this point, first of all, that which virtually everyone is already repeating: Life and practical experience indicated the manner in which the old "monism" raised doubts about the future of socialism and condemned it to stagnation and even to regress.

Bending under the weight of the Stalinist dictate, the international communist movement not only cracked internally but also separated itself from other progressive forces in the contemporary world. The socialist community (until recently described as the "camp") itself was split into hostile camps. Everywhere the path of socialism was lined by initiatives crushed by the central bureaucracies. Catching up with and surpassing the developed capitalist countries in the economic area proved to be a mirage. It was as though the small private plots contributed, much more frequently than the large socialist sector, to feeding the population. The cult of the individual, the peremptory sentences issued "from above" and punitive actions hindered the development of socialist culture and, sometimes, physically destroyed its most talented creators....

It is precisely in and because of such circumstance that anyone interested in the preservation and development of socialist society, anyone dreaming of the implementation of the communist ideal, began to think and work for a real restructuring of real socialism. One of the most common characteristics of this complex process was inevitably a transition from dogmatic, bureaucratic and tyrannical monism to democratic, socialist and humanistic pluralism.

We found this term in the liberated Soviet press. It was repeated in the party documents as well—the theses, the main report and individual statements and resolutions. "Socialist pluralism" firmly entered our contemporary party-political and socioscientific terminology. However, its current use bears the marks not only of vagueness, related to the novelty of this fact, but also of caution, instilled by a very different but nonetheless resumable past. We already have facts to indicate that

socialist pluralism as well could be twisted and, by this token, suppressed. Under socialist pluralism as well this could be accomplished both from the left and from the right.

In this case, a left "hold" would be a prerequisite for total understanding of the question of what is socialist and what is not, not only in terms of forms of ownership but also of political structures and ideological positions. This would leave virtually nothing pluralistic in "socialist pluralism," and the stagnation could be extended. A right "hold" could be a neglect of the type of unity within variety which gives its socialist character to "socialist pluralism." One could thus make absolutely relative even the meaning of words such as "socialism" and its "restructuring." Similarly, a revolution could be replaced with a counterrevolution....

Which of these two "holds" is the more dangerous? They are perhaps equally threatening, for they merge within the destruction of socialist pluralism and its use as a means of converting to a more productive, freer and more human way of joint human existence. In any case, there are sufficient grounds for work on the problem to begin by emphasizing that it is a question of pluralism within the boundaries of monism.

I have already encountered a typical contemporary reaction to this formula, expressed as follows: Why should everything be limited, everything placed within a frame? Why do we lack the type of freedom of thought which, in its time, led Roger Garaudy to the "boundlessness" of realism? Would we be irreparably deformed by philosophical dogmatism if we consider that we must include pluralism as well within monism? I would answer that, naturally, all sorts of restrictions exist, imposed "from without" and "from within," lasting and transient, worthy and unworthy. What interests me in this case is only those that are intellectually inevitable. By this I mean, above all, something very simple and clear: The study of any given project means separating it from other projects, "putting it" within a "frame" which, naturally, is located on a certain common ground. In a similar way we must define even the objective lack of determination (the conversion of objects from one status to another) if we must substantively claim that we are familiar with it. The "terrain" on which we can understand both pluralism and monism consists of unity and variety in the world. They are both objectively and logically inseparable: unity presumes a multiplicity of different objects, which are components of a single entity (being interconnected with lasting causal relations), or else are elements pertaining to one and the same class (sharing the same feature); variety comes from the mandatory distinction among the components of the entity or the elements of the class.

That is why by defending a sensible monism as an acceptance of unity within global variety, we should not have excluded the possibility of a sensibly understood pluralism which would support variety within unity. It is

true that the history of human thought has provided us with abundant examples of a groundless pluralizing of reality and knowledge: the dualism between soul and body, which cannot explain the interdependence between "spiritual movements" within man and human physical actions; sociological individualism, which constitutes a real social integrity as the sum of isolated beings; the "disparity" of "paradigms," which neglects the real continuity in actual scientific developments; gnosiological relativism, according to which human knowledge consists of subjective opinions alone.... But are there also not absurd monisms, such as the single and immobile way of life of the Eleatics or the idea of the absolute of the neo-Hegelians? This monistic absurdity is exposed by the impossibility of "unity" to exist or be conceived without any internal differentiation; it truly rivals the absurd efforts of desperate pluralists to avoid, for example, the common denominators of elements, the multiplicity of which they support.

That is why there has indeed existed a theoretical possibility, unused by us, of dialectically combining and separating monism from pluralism on the basis of the unification and separation of unity and variety. A developed dialectical-materialistic position in this respect could calmly be described as "monistic pluralism" or "pluralistic monism."

These two initially equivalent terms may not be equal in terms of emphasis: Under certain circumstances the emphasis legitimately should be on unity within variety; under other circumstances, it may shift to variety within unity. Our time has now become "pluralistic" as a result of the catastrophic consequences of our "monistic" restrictions in the past. It may be inevitable for "straightening up the lever" to result in turning it in the opposite direction. However, we are interested for such "bends" to be as minor as possible. Faced with the threat of a new, this time "pluralistic" one-sidedness, it is worth emphasizing that in the same way that pluralism is in general limited by monism, "socialist pluralism" is "limited" by "socialism."

The forms of ownership in the socialist society could be varied. However, without the prevalence of the public ownership of means of production it would no longer be socialist. The range of the means of "perestroyka" may be very extensive. Nonetheless, it remains limited, on one side, by its "zero value," i.e., the preservation of the existing situation, and, on the other, the elimination of socialism. The first would be no restructuring whatsoever and the second would not be restructuring of a socialist society. During periods of all kinds of elections, many candidacies are replaced by single individuals elected to perform a certain function within a specific, albeit restructured, society. Socialist pluralism in the sense of political study, i.e., of a multiple-party system, under our circumstances, would hardly ever give an advantage to reactionary restoration parties precisely because, even if they appear under socialism, they would be antisocialist....

Not everyone would like such restrictions. However, they would be voluntarily accepted by anyone who is unwilling to replace socialist with any other type of pluralism.

Nonetheless, there is one social area in which the pluralistic expansion somehow could be unlimited. It is precisely to it that is linked the most legitimized and most widespread meaning of the term "socialist pluralism." This applies to the realm of knowledge in which it would appear that no one would ever dare impose any restrictions, for "no one has the monopoly on truth," regardless of its topic—economics, politics or culture, both present and past....

The pluralism of opinions in socioscientific thinking (for natural science research has long enjoyed enviable freedom) is, for the time being, the most tangible cultural result of restructuring. It is much more significant than it may appear at a first glance; it is precisely in this area that even the basic conceptual distinctions between socialism and nonsocialism, monism and pluralism, and restructuring and antirestructuring are being formulated or completed. Since human social behavior is most tangibly influenced through socioscientific concepts, it is as though their extensive pluralizing broadens the boundaries of the other types of pluralization. However, its "endlessness" should also be considered excluded both practically and theoretically. From the philosophical-logical viewpoint, we begin here with the question of pluralism of opinions and monism of truths.

This part may seem quite "conservative" to someone whose hearing has already been "restructured" with the help of statements, such as "no one holds the monopoly on truth." That is why I hasten to eliminate some possible misunderstandings.

The essential monism of true knowledge I have in mind has nothing in common, for example, with the familiar religious-philosophical proclamation of global variety as an illusion and of partial human knowledge as error, claiming that Truth (with a capital letter) pertains to the one and only Infinite Entity (again with capital letters) which, as such, is accessible only to a Perfect Being, i.e., to God (again, capital letters!). This type of monism is known as mysticism and has nothing in common with science. Real science leading to real knowledge cannot neglect the fact that numerous people know a large number of real things and attain many truths by the clash among and sifting of an even greater number of opinions.... Naturally, as I already tried to prove, such pluralism can be neither actually nor mentally separated from monistic unity within variety.

Real monism in knowledge has nothing in common with monopolism. Regardless of the view held by many contemporary students of the sciences, even a scientific truth is not an absolute monopoly of, shall we say, a respective scientific community. It is true that great

science demands high professionalism. However, if scientists absolutize their specialized knowledge, if they forget that scientific knowledge begins by distilling the principles, appearances and even biases of ordinary human thought, their convictions become phantasmagoric. Democracy of science is much more closely related to its scientific nature than is thought by many not particularly clever supporters of "mad ideas;" living practical experience remains the profound foundation and measure of knowledge.

If this makes even scientific monopoly on scientific truth impossible, what can we say about political truth?

Today "socialist pluralism" is directed against the consequences of yesterday's "cult socialism," particularly in the area of the social sciences. Under the conditions of total central power (which is "management which does not include self-management"), truth begins to "reflect" the social status of its subject and the higher the subject is the more unquestionable it becomes: "The chief knows best."... The personified peak of the Stalinist political pyramid in such case turns out to be not only omnipotent but also omniscient. And since no individual, even a truly talented one, can be truly omniscient (regardless of the works of his numerous sychophantic advisers which he attributes to himself), the cognitive monopoly of the cult turns into the domination of "total semitruths," of total misunderstandings or pure errors. Under those circumstances, even when appeals are made for the "free struggle among scientific views (as was done by Stalin in his time in his work *"Marxism and Problems of Linguistics"*), daring criticism is almost totally excluded and daring critics are frequently "locked up." The long and difficult path leading to objective truth is replaced by a simple repetition and fictitious creation of "brilliant" statements and instructions. The training of seeking and critical minds yields to the "multiplication" of gray crowds of apologetic commentators.

In order to put an end to this truly "painfully familiar" story, all monopoly on truth must be stopped and the true pluralism of opinion must be encouraged.... It is a question not of decisions made high up or of permissions but of creating the type of social structures which will not hold back but stimulate the free development of scientific knowledge.

In this case, however, the pluralism of opinions would have been without interest if reduced to their steady multiplicity which stems simply from the multiplicity of objects and subjects. In the same way that a number of candidacies for the same elected position would make no sense if there were no elections, numerous opinions are cognitively significant only if there is a free competition among the claims they lay to the effect that they hold the truth on one and the same matter.

Its exclusivity, naturally, comes from the fact that it is one and only. We must not forget, however, that the target may be complex, have different aspects and phases

which raise different questions, become the object of different studies and lead to different opinions. Such opinions will not pass each-other by but will meet in a sensible discussion only if it is assumed that a strictly determined object, taken within a strictly determined time and attitude, has a single characteristic which must be strictly defined. This precisely is not simply an admissible but a necessary meaning within which the pluralism of opinions presumes the monism of truth. This concept, however, has two main opponents: the dogmatist-monist and the relativist-pluralist.

Because of the monism of truth, the dogmatist-monist would reject the pluralism of opinions, scorning the difficulties along the path leading to true knowledge, which meanders through a number of assumptions and acquires an outline in the course of the clash among numerous ideas. The fact that not everyone can be equally right leads to the conclusion that not everyone has the same right; the hierarchy of opinions is established not after determining their distance from the truth but by projecting on them the social power relations existing among their bearers. The theory and practice of the cult of personality we mentioned is the best illustration and the most severe condemnation of the cognitive results of dogmatic monism: socially monopolized, truth withers away gnosiologically.

However, there also exists a theory and a practice which indicate that relativistic pluralism is no less damaging to knowledge than dogmatic monism. In this case the democratic principle that "everyone has the same right" (to an opinion) is transformed into the individualistic concept that "everyone is equally right." In the final account, the decisive and the actually sole "argument" is the claim that "that is what I think" (with a strong emphasis on the "I"); arguments acquire all possible functions other than that of seeking and finding the truth.

A great deal has been said and could be said of the reasons and grounds for gnosiological relativism. On the sociopsychological level, for example, one could trace the way some social conditions lead some personalities to rebel against any kind of restriction, including those which are "independent of man and mankind," and to claims for arbitrary legislation relative to the problems of truth. But even when relativistic pluralism is related not to individual but social solipsism (such as the "noncoincidence" among the "paradigms" of different "scientific communities"), mandatorily part of its gnosiological foundation is the concept of the "nontransparency," i.e., the cognitive inaccessibility of objective nonhuman reality. The prerequisites which are usually ignored in this case are classical: an egocentric concept of the nature of the cognitive attitude (the subject knows only that which he "assimilates," i.e., that which "comes" to him becomes "his"); the constantly noted dualism of "appearance" and "reality" (with an even more permanent trend for appearance to be considered as demarcating the limits of what is cognitively accessible and

beyond which a reality independent of man remains)... In the final account, it is precisely for this reason that it is believed that even the most developed science involves only those who make it; its content is determined if not simply by their personal features, then by the cultural-historical atmosphere in which they live. It is thus that man—the “individual” or “social” man—becomes not only a “measure” of the significance and possibility of knowledge but also the creator of all familiar things: Basically the multiplicity of knowledge is deprived of all nonhuman unity: Pluralism of truths is defined only in terms of the differences between and within the subjects of knowledge.

Today this long familiar gnosiological orientation is occasionally presented as a “restructured” novelty in Marxist philosophy, as its radical “humanizing,” decisive break with “transcendental reality” and “objective necessity,” the veneration of which condemned people to become civically passive and “reconciled with evil.” In reality, however, gnosiological realism is entirely compatible with the understanding that all social life consists of the interdependent conscious and active efforts of individuals. However, it also demands the recognition that the special human world is created within the limits of and in accordance with the possibilities of a primary and incomparably broader objective reality which man must recognize within relations which are significant to him.... Let us hope that in our time at least the global ecological crisis, which is a harsh warning against human unscrupulousness and conceit—will bring about the strengthening of the positions of philosophical realism (or materialism, if we use Lenin’s terminology). However, it is adequate not only with a view to the correlation between society and nature but on the inner social level as well. If its principles are false and if objects independent of mankind are not cognitively accessible and if truth is deprived of its “objective content,” as Lenin said, it would be impossible, for example, to reach a reciprocal understanding among people physically separated but who are in contact with the same type of things; we would be unable to explain continuity in the development of knowledge; no conscious coordination of human activities would take place and society would not exist.

It would be more than strange for a relativistic pluralizing of truth to take place in the name of civic activeness, in the name of restructuring, for it too would become totally senseless if every individual had his own understanding of it, if there was no way for the struggle waged by “restructured” viewpoints to lead to a result which is objective in terms of its content and to a realistic program for specific social action. Glasnost and multiplicity of voices and pluralism of opinions are values not intrinsically but in terms of social development. Totally alien to their socialist nature is the pluralist-relativist, who has settled in the kingdom of his absolute self-definition, to whom the most natural thing is to do whatever he wants or simply to do nothing.

That is why the “monism of truth” is not a dogmatic obsolescence but a prerequisite for distinguishing between knowledge and ignorance, between cognitive processes and their real results, between rational discussions and empty verbosity, and between sensible practice and behavioral subjectivism. I shall not conceal, however, that it conflicts with a profoundly ingrained seemingly Marxist tradition. This refers to the means used in presenting the correlation between “the contradiction and multiplicity of truths.”

One does not have to be a professional logician to realize that the “monism of truth” which is being defended here is, actually, a defense of the traditional logical law of the noncontradiction: several opinions “struggle” with each other when they are contradictory, for they are different. However, each one of them claims to be the single truth concerning the same object, considered within the same time and relationship. If the uniqueness of truth, thus conceived, was not an inevitable fact there would have been no logical noncompatibility whatsoever between certain claims: No sensible person, for example, would dispute the right to “peaceful coexistence” among views pertaining to different things or to complementing characteristics of a single object.

Unfortunately, within dialectical materialism there has been frequent support of the cult of the objective vagueness and there has been a tendency always to consider all objects in all respects both as they are and as something else. In the language of logic, this means to accept as true the combined assertion of something and nonsomething, of a concept and its denial. It is thus that truth becomes pluralized, for the rejections indicate other assertions on the same matter. It is precisely this pluralism, reduced to its objective and cognitive contradictoriness (the “combination of incompatibilities”) that used to be proclaimed as an essential feature of dialectics.

However, lectures on Marxist-Leninist philosophy also contain quite categorical antirelativistic concepts. Any normal “sensible” or scientific “meaning” would oppose the insinuation that the object is never simply what it is but is always, in the same time and relationship, something else as well. For example, would it not be an obvious stupidity to consider capitalism before the socialist revolution as “noncapitalism?” Could a dialectics, from which follows not only the transitional nature of the exploiting society but also the constant reality of its rejection be considered the “algebra of the revolution?”

That is why the more serious dialectical thinking has “invalidated” the logical reason of the noncontradiction not in general but in connection with aspects of the “quality leap,” the transitional periods. The transition from one status to another seems indeed to have both or neither. Why should this not be a universal law, since all specific objects always change in one respect or another?



It is recalled, on this subject, that the study of even an ordinary shift reveals the objective contradictoriness and demands the pluralizing of truth, since both the object and the nonobject are considered accurate ("a moving object is at a certain place at a precise moment" and "a moving object at that same moment is not in that same place").

But if it was indeed possible for the same object to be absolute and simultaneously to hold two positions in space (i.e., to be and not to be in the same place), this would indicate the absurd possibility of motion in space but not in time (for example moving deprived of any permanency!). Incidentally, if we accept the presence of a given object simultaneously at different places we lose the most secure personal feature of commonality, which precisely is both here and there at the same time. That is why it is hardly an accident that there is a strong nominalistic trend in relativistic pluralism, and its tendency to reject objective "universals," which, by their very nature, are "one within many."...

I think that these considerations could lead to an interpretation of objective transitional states not as a combination of two incompatible quality features but as the loss of one and the gain of another. In any case, those who, for the sake of the "contradictoriness" rejected "formal logic" in the name of "dialectical" logic should realize, to say the least, that they were rejecting the law of the noncontradiction on the basis of that same law, i.e., as a premise. It is precisely because, like all "traditional logicians," they ascribe an alternate nature of judgments such as "the movement is contradictory" and "the movement is not contradictory," that they, accepting the former and rejecting the latter, accept contradictoriness and reject noncontradictoriness in order... not to contradict themselves! It is through this unseemly way that the myth was developed of the incompatibility between "formal" and "dialectical" logic.

In order to avoid the confusion of denying something by asserting it, an entirely rational means exists: ascribing to dialectical contradictoriness its classical meaning, related to the sources of change, to the real unity and real struggle between real opposite forces, not expressed in the combined claim of object and nonobject, condemned by "traditional logic." In the opposite case a gnosiological arbitrariness will be created, which is another name for relativistic pluralism. The boundary separating truth and nontruth will disappear and the theoretical possibility would appear of proving any arbitrary concept, i.e., the impossibility of proving anything. Arguments which lose the likelihood of "disappearance" of the multiplicity of "opinions" within the unity of truths degenerate into purely psychological manifestations. The practical projections of such an orientation could equally be voluntarism and quietism, for sensible activism can be properly combined only with gnosiological realism.

Therefore, pluralism and monism should be conceived in terms of dialectical unity. This proves to be both a

logical necessity and a practical imperative. From the historical viewpoint, the new emphasis on socialist pluralism will most likely turn out to be a prerequisite for a new, higher monism.

We have heard and read a great deal about deformations of the socialist society which lead to alienation and disunity, stagnation and confrontation. We have realized that their superstructural "monism" develops and conceals its nondialectical contradictoriness, resembling hypocritical old ideologies which ascribe a universal nature to limited interests. We should now consider the prospect of a new, socialist pluralism leading us to a higher social unity, to a more perfect monism.

Restructuring is still in its early childhood. Nonetheless, social practice is already beginning to prove that achieving optimal decisions through the clash of opinions and determining a common fate by taking into consideration individual freedom, ascribes incomparably greater dynamism and unity of socialism than was possible with the old mandatory preliminary "unifications."

However, not only is a greater internal unification of socialism achieved through the development of socialist pluralism. Socialist pluralism also makes more attractive the prototype of the future of mankind, embodied within it. It is obviously not an accident that "socialist pluralism" was granted citizenship together with or immediately after the "new political thinking" which appeared as a result of the need, more urgent than at any other time, for the people to unite within mankind. This is also a manifestation of the dialectics of monism and pluralism, which Marxist-Leninist philosophy should acknowledge more categorically, study more profoundly and defend more firmly.

05003

### **Role of Intelligentsia in Restructuring, Democratization**

*22000002 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian  
26 Aug 88 pp 1, 5*

[Article by Prof Dr Dimitur Filipov: "Culture: Strength and Responsibility"]

[Text] The role of the intellectual product in history has changed. The change began as early as the mid-19th century, when science became an autonomous social force, rated by Marx as "the firmest form of wealth." This century the exceptional activeness of education and culture were manifested. Such a radical change in the combination of social forces triggered a new force within society: the scientific and technical revolution. As we can judge now, on the level of the 1980s, it constitutes not only a technological change in material production. It is also scientific-cultural, scientific-educational, revolutionizing management and even the human way of life. In general, science has promoted a universal change in the way of life.

It is for that reason that the role of the spiritual sphere is particularly important in the restructuring of the socioeconomic development of most socialist countries. Restructuring, which also means renovation or radical reform, is total and does not ignore a single area of life. The individual socialist countries may have their features in terms of priority emphases: democratization of the political system, and economic, agricultural and economic reform and political democratization. In all cases, however, it is a question of an initial impetus, of that which must be started in order to instill a new quality to socialism, applying the values of the communist ideal. Invariably, the leading role of the spiritual area is projected. This is a new quality of socialism. In terms of the attitude of science as the theoretical assimilation of nature, this change is entirely clear. However, a similar role is also played by culture and education.

That is why the recent plenum of the BCP Central Committee on the spiritual area as concretizing the July party strategy is of tremendous importance, above all for the fact that priority is given to the spiritual forces of society and that their trends of rationalization are outlined in the course of their interaction with material production and overall social life. One could argue whether restructuring is a revolution, the more so since we are familiar with its various types: social, socioeconomic, scientific, cultural, and so on. Naturally, it is not a "social revolution," or a "people's revolution," as it has been defined by some authors. Unquestionably, however, it applies to the type of radical turn which cannot be expressed with the criteria governing the advancement of the social system but which has a profound revolutionary significance in which spiritual culture is a leading factor.

Culture is one of the flag bearers in the revolutionary restructuring of socialist society.

Let us note on this subject, once again, one of the most unexpected historical results: The realm of the arts and culture, which is lofty, delicate and which lives entirely in the intimate world of man, has been enriched by acquiring a universal social significance. It has become an independent force, but closely integrated with all the components of life, an era in which, in addition to the laws of beauty and the moral ideal, the laws of economics, politics and social relations interfere to the same extent. Noted by Marx, after Hegel, the relative independence of culture and its virtual indifference toward the economy today is a totally obsolete historical situation. One could yearn for those times, but history pays no attention to sentimentality. If culture abandons the habitat of elitism and establishes contacts with all of life, it is natural for it to experience the impact of all laws governing society.

However, this is where the possibilities of a global summation end, for the laws governing society are manifested through the strength of the specific historical social system. Andre Malraux enthusiastically believed

that houses of culture would become the "temples of the 20th century." Actually, as it has been sadly noted in the West, their use for economic purposes converted them into "enterprises for industrial initiative."

That is why it is normal and necessary to ask ourselves, after everything has been said in theory, for decades on end, what is nonetheless the historical role of culture. Human thought is burdened by the rather unpleasant feature that in some cases its projection line, which may deviate by no more than one degree from the true line, over a longer period of time, and precisely for this reason innocently on the surface, may turn into the opposite values. All facts and all manifestations of complex social relations are a "total concreteness," according to Marx, included in their content and their action. For that reason any excessively well-wishing enhancement of culture or of the intelligentsia, obviously due to well-intentioned emotional motivations, to the position of vanguard is exaggerated and inconsistent with the strict logic of life.

In the final account, this actually coarsens and belittles the true role played by the intelligentsia and by culture, for they are ascribed entire functions and responsibilities which are not within their powers. But what else can we do? Who is it, will it be the intelligentsia that will be held responsible for the period of repressions and stagnation, or else for the inevitable omissions which will be manifested at the present stage? The approach of classifying "the best part" of the intelligentsia into "good and bad" does not make any real sense. Who will determine the nature of such "components," and on the basis of what criteria: works, social action or any other reason? No, however attractive this system may seem, it is a matter of a rather misleading emotional excitement. The theory of this question has been discussed for more than a century. E. Kanetti sadly recalls how he believed that World War II could be prevented with the help of poetry. However, the obviously inclusive activeness and responsibility of the intelligentsia in the stage of restructuring and intellectualizing of life raises this question once again.

We frequently refer to the Soviet experience, which is entirely natural. Restructuring is a tremendous historical initiative of the Soviet communists, which shook up and even exploded in a number of respects not the socialist world alone, and which triggered tremendous motive forces. Restructuring once again proved the vanguard role of the Soviet Union in building socialism and in the struggle for happiness and social justice. However, the Soviet Union has adopted a strictly scientific and objective analytical attitude toward the role of culture. The appearance of group interests has been noted and so has the complex development of individual cultural forms and the critical condition of the theater, for instance. M. Gorbachev formulated the exceptionally important thesis of the CPSU as being the "true motive force of restructuring, its initiator and acknowledged leader, reflecting the basic interests of the people and of socialism." The strength of the intelligentsia rests in its unity

with the Communist Party, the sources of labor and the communist ideal. Actually, in all ages the contribution of the intelligentsia has depended in this case on the corresponding ideal of progress.

Both in the past and now the Bulgarian intelligentsia has been an exceptionally active factor in the profound changes which are taking place in our country, the radical turn toward a new quality of socialism, the theoretical and political platform on the party and its unity with all social groups of working people. Not a single one of them should be neglected or especially supported.

Under conditions of restructuring, the Bulgarian intelligentsia faces a tremendous range of problems to be solved. Let us indicate a few of them as marks of the new cultural situation: the new nature of interaction of the forms of spiritual culture both among them and with material production; the penetration of new technologies in culture and communications, as a cultural factor; culture and labor; economic aspects of the cultural process; culture and international relations; culture and peace, and many others. They affect major aspects of socialist development as well as the fate of mankind itself. A large number of problems affect the mechanism of cultural policy. For example, how will it be possible, in the conditions of growing democratization of society and the absolutely necessary glasnost, to limit the flow of mediocrity in the cultural process and prevent glasnost from being used to tolerate it? How to increase, in general, our exigency toward the cultural product? How to apply the principles of economic responsibility of the creator and his public expression while, at the same time, take into consideration the economic principles and the social nature of socialism and the characteristics of some cultural values in terms of their mass perception? In the USSR realist painters are organizing their own exhibitions, which are tremendously successful, based entirely on the principles of self-support. The general opinion, however, is that avant-garde paintings would be unable to pass a similar economic "test," or else an increase in the responsibility and role of art criticism under the conditions of the democratization of society. Generally speaking, this is a very old question which today, however, emerges on the foreground with new emphasis and on the basis of new positions—objectiveness and competence and a standard of discussion. In political journalism there is a most emphatic phenomenon of competence and responsibility. Could there be any restructuring wherever one untruth is replaced by another untruth and where the power of the fact yields to emotional passions?

The study of the problems of culture and cultural policy in the new stage of restructuring is an exceptionally difficult scientific task. It can be solved only over a long period of time, and in accordance with the laws of science. We may envy some authors who can answer even the most difficult problems of theory and practice lightly, with a single stroke. We know that, with his

typical and unique gigantic work stamina, combined with his genius as a philosopher, in 40 years Marx was able to publish a single book and partially to write two others out of the entire six books in which he contemplated, along with "Das Kapital" to present an analysis of his society. Marx's example in this respect is a warning against haste in science, which always equates superficiality.

Problems of culture under the new conditions of restructuring demand a broader discussion and even not simply comparing but pitting against each other different views. They also demand individual creative responsibility. By its very nature, a scientific discussion demands a certain level of knowledge. Today, for example, the question of the struggle against bureaucracy is very topical. A special resolution on this matter was passed at the 19th CPSU Party Conference and the BCP expressed categorical views in this respect. But what is a bureaucrat? The rather curious situation was noted in the Soviet Union that whenever it became necessary to describe the image of the bureaucrat we come across the simple paradoxical impossibility of expressing in clear and understood terms what a bureaucrat is. The bureaucrat is not always a member of the administrative apparatus, of the management of society. To claim this is not only not serious but goes beyond even the most vulgar concepts of anarchism. Inevitably the administrative apparatus will grow. In the developed countries, 50-55 or even 60 percent of the able-bodied population is already included in the information sector which, in terms of its nature, is administrative, and particularly in the information-management services to industry. Generally speaking, the personnel in such jobs are engaged in intellectual work even as far as handling computers in industry is concerned. But how should such an intelligentsia self-destroy in order to eliminate bureaucratism? The absurdity of this is obvious. Lenin himself, opposing M. Sokolov's demand for "eradicating from the face of the earth the ulcer of bureaucratic main administrations and centers," describes this view as being "naive and misleading," stressing that "in this case surgery would be absurd" and that a "lengthy and slow treatment" is necessary. Obviously, a dispute on such a level could hardly merit the dignity of scientific discussion. The bureaucracy is not a managerial structure but a system of specific features, mannerisms and forms of work.

Engels indicated the importance of getting out of the "uncritical atmosphere in which all historical and economic publications generated today in Germany have been entangled." To the communists he pointed out that "we must allow discussion in order not to degenerate into a sect," immediately adding that "however, the general principles must be invariably observed." That is the main, the essential thing in a creative and fruitful discussion: taking principles and the methodological platform into consideration. This nature of scientific discussion is particularly important now in order to prevent us, driven by the enthusiasm of restructuring, from using half-truths, deviating from the truth for the

sake of which we are working, in which we believe and with which we hope to restore the historical power of the communist ideal and the historical attractiveness of the social system, which is objectively inherent in socialism.

The BCP Central Committee highly values and relies extremely greatly on the contribution of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. In his considerations addressed to the BCP Central Committee Politburo, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that "today as well the Bulgarian intelligentsia is the strike force of our restructuring.... We cannot conceive of the revolutionary restructuring of our society without the intelligentsia."

05003

**Changes in Bulgaria, Role of Soviet Media**  
20200001 Moscow NEW TIMES in English  
No 37, Sep 88 pp 34-35

[Article by Kolyo Kolev, journalist (Bulgaria): "Glasnost for All"]

[Text] The changes in Bulgaria have sparked off extensive public discussion.

The documents adopted at the plenary meetings of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC in July and September last year, at the National Party Conference in January last and at the Plenary Meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC this July on the reform in the cultural sphere, complete the round of this almost nationwide debate; complete the round rather than draw a line under the discussion, and bring new questions to the fore.

Of all the propositions put forward at the party forums, I would single out the demand for real change or, as one of our weeklies put it, "actual rather than verbal changes." This is wise. Indeed, if there is anything that can kill the idea of changes, this is, first and foremost, rhetoric, impressive as it may sound.

Clearly the first question, what is to be changed, has been answered. Now we ask how and when the changes will be effected. Our society wants its way of living to change not sometime in the future but today, tomorrow, this year, in this 5-year period. Rosy long-term prospects, look attractive, but when we reach a certain turning point they frequently prove to be mirages. A highlight in the public discussion, which will unquestionably have a tremendous impact on the process of transformation towards real changes, was the statement that the time has come today to abandon illusions.

We know that any hasty action may do damage to the cause. At the same time, a slow development of the restructuring process will not bring the expected results. Specialists maintain, for example, that there is in our

economy a very wide gap between large-scale production capacities on the one hand, and the quality and quantity of output, profitability and labour productivity on the other.

Similar disparities exist in other areas too including the cultural sphere. The cultural assets now being created in our country can hardly be described as corresponding fully to the level of cultural development of the Bulgarian nation. Dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs is not a mere invention on my part but a stand in the overall discussion of the model of restructuring in the fields of science, education and art, and the main topic on the agenda at the latest plenary meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC.

What are the main tendencies of the changes in the cultural sphere?

The individual objectives can be summed up as freeing the mind and spirit of man, his intellect and social energy. Without this, any change will be abstract, rhetorical and false.

And here at times fears arise that all this could lead to chaos, anarchy, disorder. This is one extreme. The other is to claim that any restriction, any command results in tyranny. The conflict of views smoothes out the mechanism of real self-government as the basis for all cultural, scientific and education activities.

What is the essence of the resolutions adopted at the July plenary meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC?

First and foremost, these assert self-government in the sphere of creative activity, the work of research institutions, and the field of education and culture as a universal principle in public life. This process got off to a good start at the conferences of cultural and educational workers, who elected their executive bodies.

The introduction of the mandate system in the party and people's councils, the election of executive bodies with several nominees contending for a single post and the establishment of parallel associations are a step towards democratizing our political structures. It looks as if the assertion of these principles will not pose real problems, the difficulties only arising when these principles have to be implemented. The most important issue here is how much practice corresponds to principles. What is to be done to create a system that will rule out financial and vocational privileges on the strength of position? What should be done to ensure that talent and public recognition are the only criteria for judging merit? What is to be done to wipe out "cover-ups," nepotism, abuses of criticism?



Presumably the quest for answers to these questions will take time and be far from easy. The inertia in mentality and existing social relationships will have to be surmounted. Creative workers' unions, no matter how democratic their ruling principles, have established administrative structures and methods of work. The bureaucrat, no matter where he works—in a government, managerial or creative organization, often does not proceed from interests vested in work but is guided by orders, instructions, and rules formulated by executives. And the inertia of views, actions and habits of the powers-that-be controlling this or that union will add up to administrative jungles that are more a match for any normal person. Therefore restructuring in the spiritual sphere cannot be implemented unless it is underpinned by strict legal guarantees, unless the way is cleared for law, and provision is made for removing any intermediaries who negate the law or distort its contents.

Here one must take into account the fact that the creative process is governed by its own specific laws (the creative worker too bears specific responsibility to society, and to our own and future generations). What is to be done to rid ourselves of the intermediaries between the creative personality and society? The concept of changes in the cultural sphere now adopted in Bulgaria envisages principles that make the creator independent of the administration and the vested interests of various departments. The concept provides for the free formation of independent creative associations and societies working on the principles of self-administration and collectivism. As I see it, these associations and societies will include like-minded people who need not be members of the same organization or union. Throughout its history, Bulgarian culture has been distinguished by just this kind of creative association, which formed round certain literary magazines and newspapers and came to constitute their own scientific and cultural organizations, libraries, reading-rooms and creative circles in Bulgarian cities and towns were an important political and cultural phenomenon in Bulgaria's history. Why now, over 40 years after the socialist revolution, should we be afraid to apply this practice?

The party resolutions speak of the new social role of the mass media, and the new social status of the press, radio and television as a motive force in restructuring. The lifting of the ban on access to confidential information has opened up a wide field of activity for journalists. We think, however, that they will be able to fulfill their new function only if they are independent and responsible to society rather than to executives and "the hierarchy." Freedom of the press and freedom of speech proclaimed in the constitution, will be a reality only when each citizen has the opportunity to work creatively, and think and express his views freely. Methods of administration and command that impose a personal decision, a single will on others, run counter to the principles of restructuring, and to socialist theory and practice. Such an approach breeds alienation, paralyzes initiative, hinders

the advance of progressive ideas, and nips things progressive in the bud. In the past this fostered mediocrity and led to self-delusion, and the distortion of authentic values and criteria.

It is therefore difficult to overestimate the fact that in the process of restructuring the cultural sphere, the status of the mass media is underpinned by legislation. In accordance with the decision made by the Politbureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC on 6 August, newspapers and magazines no longer represent the executive bodies of different organizations and departments. For example, *ROBOTNICHESKO DELO* and the magazine *NOVO VREME* are no longer responsible to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party but to the central organs of the press which speak for the whole party and may come out in opposition to the Central Committee. Specialized newspapers and magazines such as *LITERATUREN FRONT*, *NARODNA KULTURA*, *SEPTEMVRI*, *IZKUSTVO*, *TEATER* and others have become independent publications of writers, artists and cultural workers. It is planned to reorganize the publishing business and open new publishing houses. Creative work is freeing itself of editorial tutelage, and arbitrary decisions that determine the size of an edition. Publishers will print only works in demand with the reading public, works that have proved their merit, rather than material endorsed and subsidized by the state.

Who will formulate the criteria? Certainly, society, which possesses the necessary intellect, wisdom and experience. The place of a handful of bureaucrats with the exclusive right to mete out praise and blame will be taken by art criticism, pluralism in the assessment of a work of art, and freedom of opinion. This is where we see genuine openness, which cannot be manipulated or monopolized.

The protection of society from all kinds of distortion should be ensured by such important factors as debate, the free discussion of a problem by all who wish to air their views and unite with the aim of translating an idea into reality in the interests of society. Can there be a better way to ensure the interests of the cause than through the clash of opinions? We think not. But the result here depends not so much on the number of opinions as on the deputy of judgments and conclusions. We already have the rudiments of free discussion in attempting to assess the process of restructuring. We realize how little we are as yet prepared to speak freely and defend our position logically, providing sound arguments, avoiding recriminations and threats, and without labelling as vicious the actions of others.

The social sciences in Bulgaria are following closely, though I would say only partially, the development of perestroika in the Soviet Union—in the CPSU, in society, and in the material and cultural spheres. The processes under way in both our countries are very similar, relating to the essence of socialism, its ideological basis, practice and ultimate objectives. Soviet newspapers and

magazines and central television broadcasts have become a point of public debate in Bulgaria and a source of social and political experience. It is often emphasized that Soviet publications find the largest market in Bulgaria because of the similarity between the Russian and Bulgarian languages. This is true. Some Soviet newspapers and magazines distributed in Bulgaria such as PRAVDA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, KOMMUNIST, OGONYOK, NOVOYE VREMYA, ZA RUBEZHOM, averagely run

into the same number of copies as our national publications. Understandably, the considerable prestige of and heightened interest in Soviet publications today depend on their political content, the most popular articles being on perestroika, glasnost and democracy, topics consonant with our present-day aspirations and concerns, and the meaning and content of our social progress.

/12232

**Pollution in Ruse**

22000067 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
3 Dec 87 p 1

[Poem by Georgi Konstantinov: "The Dinosaur"]

[Text]

**Динозавърът**

На отсрещния бряг,  
към небето  
димящи дули издигнала,  
тържествува безбрежно  
голямата химия.  
И по жълти тревни,  
по безмълвни дървета  
и каменни здания  
пак мъглата върви  
като син динозавър.  
Глухо кашля градът.  
Не отваря прозорци в стаята.  
Деградира градът.  
От любов  
абортира отчаяно.  
Не в далечен Бопал,  
не на полюса,

не на екватора —  
тук хората влизат  
по-често във болница,  
отколкото в театри.  
И вместо за нова играчка,  
и вместо за шарена киничка  
тук децата  
понякога плачат  
за истинска детска въздишка..  
Колко пъти в небесната бездна  
уж прощално  
мъглата се вие —  
динозавърът не изчезва.  
Сякаш чака  
да изчезнем ние.

Май — октомври, Русе, 1987

**The Dinosaur**

Across the river  
aimed at the sky  
smoking cannons rise  
the mighty chemical plant  
limitlessly triumphant.  
Over the burnt yellow grass  
enveloping mute trees, stone buildings  
the haze spreads  
like a grey dinosaur.  
The town coughs, stifling.  
No one opens a window.  
This town in degradation  
Out of love,  
in despair, aborts its young. Not in far-away Bhopal  
not on the north pole  
or the equator,  
here people go to  
hospitals  
more often than to  
theaters.  
Instead of a new toy,  
instead of a book  
full of bright colors  
here children  
sometimes cry  
for the true child's breath of air.  
How many times  
in that endless sky  
can the haze swirl around  
in mocked farewell. But that dinosaur does not vanish,  
he waits  
as if for us to vanish.

May-December, Ruse, 1987

**Sextet on Hypocrisy**

22000068 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
18 Feb 88 p 1

[Poem by Khristo Ganev: "Antiglasnost"]

[Text]

**Антигласност**

Когато чистим старите обори,  
добре ще е по малко да говорим,  
дордето ги превърнем в храм.  
От лозунги и химни оглушахме  
и както някога от страх мълчахме,  
сега га помълчим от срам.

Antiglasnost

When we sweep clean the stables of our past  
it would be wise to talk a little less  
until we turn them into a temple.  
From slogans and paeans we have grown deaf  
but if once we hushed because of fear  
now let us keep silent out of shame.

Poem Dedicated to V. Korotich  
22000069 Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian  
17 Mar 88 p 1

[Poem by Georgi Konstantinov: "The Neighborhood Meeting"]

[Text]

## Квартално събрание

На В. Коротич

Ораторът  
на гласност пак ни учи,  
но свойто аз  
за думите е скрил.  
Защо то той  
дори за свойто куче  
широк апартамент е построил.  
Защото в гласността  
усмихнат влиза,  
тъй както влиза  
в своя мерцедес...  
ще стигнем ние  
утре комунизма.  
А той живее в комунизма днес.  
Досадно  
мисълта му лъкатуши  
или просветва  
от изкуствен плам.  
А хората се правят,  
че го слушат,  
И той се прави, че си вярва сам.

### The Neighborhood Meeting (To V. Korotich)

The orator  
lectures us on glasnost again,  
but behind the words  
he hides his own ego.  
Because even for his own dog  
a spacious apartment is built.  
That's why he gets into glasnost with a smile  
just as he gets into his own Mercedes. . .  
Tomorrow we shall reach Communism.  
But he lives in Communism today.  
Boringly  
his thoughts meander,  
or shine from an artificial flame.  
But the people pretend  
that they listen to him,  
And he pretends to believe his own words.



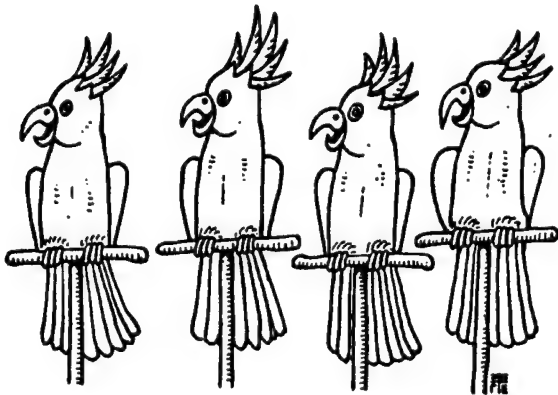
Cartoons From Bulgarian Press

[24 Dec 87 p 52]

From POLITICHESKA AGITATSIYA  
22000062 Sofia POLITICHESKA AGITATSIYA  
in Bulgarian 24 Dec 87, 1 Jan, 5 Mar 88

[Text]

[24 Dec 87 p 26]



— И ние сме за гласност!

We're for glasnost too!

--Borislav Georgiev



Гласност

Glasnost

--Borislav Georgiev

[The animals are taken from AESOP'S FABLES.  
In the Greek story, the fox flatters the  
crow's singing, thus enticing him to let  
go of the bread. -- FBIS]

[1 Jan 88 p 62]

[5 Mar 88 p 22]



Restructuring

--Georgi Kirilov

Glasnost

"Hey, you over there, keep it down!"

--Gel87

[The man in the suit probably represents bureaucracy. The symbol on the rubber stamp is used to denote sections in a contract or legal document. -- FBIS]

From STURSHEL

22000062 Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian  
11 Mar, 3 Jun 88

[Text]

[11 Mar 88 p 2]

ДЕЧКО НИКОЛОВ



I Support Glasnost!  
from a well-wisher

--Dechko Nikolov

[3 Jun 88 p 2]

ГЕОРГИ АНАСТАСОВ



В И-СКОТО УЧРЕЖДЕНИЕ

Glasnost, Restructuring (crying children)

Caption: At Institution "X"

--Georgi Anastasov

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LITERATUREN FRONT 26 Nov 87 p 7	Ivan Zhukov, "About the Life of Aleksandr Fadeev"	No date OGONEK	Article about Bukharin	
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